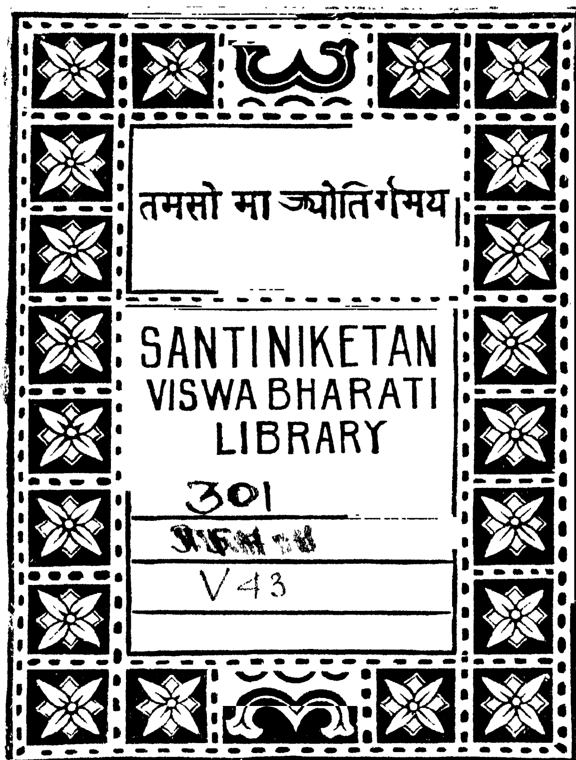


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THE COMING RENAISSANCE

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The Coming Renaissance

A STUDY IN SOCIO-ECONOMIC, ETHICAL AND CULTURAL PROBLEMS OF THE DAY

BY

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Advocate, High Court of Judicature at Allahabad; Author of 'The Labour Problem,' etc.; Sometime Professor of Economics, K. P. College, Allahabad & Fellow of the Royal Economic Society & Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland

WITH

AN INTRODUCTION

BY

SHRI BHAGAVAN DAS

Author of 'The Science of Peace,' 'The Science of Emotions,' 'The Science of Social Organisation, or The Laws of Manu'; 'Pranava-vada,' etc. etc.

FIRST EDITION

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To

Pandit UMA SHANKAR BAJPAI

Government Advocate, High Court of Judicature at Allahabad

A token of Personal Regard

By kind Permission

महायँत्र प्रवर्त्तनम्—Manu, xi. 63.

According to Manu, the use of large machines for private commercial purposes is to be condemned and discouraged.

Babu Bhagavan Das.

"Machinery is the chief symbol of modern civilisation; it represents a great sin."

Mahatma M. K. Gandhi.

"We must acknowledge this paradox, that while the spirit of the West marches under the banner of freedom, the nation of the West forges its iron chains of organisation, which are the most relentless and unbreakable that have ever been manufactured in the whole history of man."

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore.

The Seven Social Sins of the Present Day are:—

(i) Politics without principles; (ii) Wealth without work; (iii) Pleasure without conscience; (iv) Knowledge without character; (v) Commerce and industry without morality; (vi) Science without humanity; (vii) Worship without sacrifice.

Canon Donaldon, of Westminster Abbey.

"Without the pauperism bred by our present-day civilisation we would have a veritable Heaven on earth."

"The cry of labour is: Have productive labour and not productive capital."

"Spiritualise your economics by applying communistic principles to individualism."

"The special genius of the East lies in fixing the two limits between which a sane, normal, healthy development of man and human institutions can best take place—in other words, the universal application of the law of the Golden Mean."

"We should not only guarantee a minimum comfort wage to all labourers, but should also aim at striking an average comfort wage which should be the maximum wage in all public departments. And, above all, our legislators must be the greatest apostles of the average standard of living being secured to the lowest unit of labour."

"We take strong objection to the permanent title to existence of interest-bearing capital."

"The monopolistic right of ownership over the instruments of production which confers a title upon the capitalistic owners to derive their incomes in the form of interest yielded in perpetuity is a grossest kind of injustice, against which human conscience must ever revolt."

"We must further recognise that in order that the capital giant be a blessing to the community, its personality must be thoroughly shaken, nay! even broken and laid low to the ground, before it may gather its nourishment and thus by passing through a severest ordeal of time may it recover its individuality with renewed and redoubled vigour and energy for the benefaction of the human race."

"While we want to give by all means a reasonable reward to the services of capital or the function of waiting in production we take away its monopolistic right to usurp and swallow away all the future rights of labour to its tools of production, by vesting in itself a presumed title of ownership which confers on that capital the unlimited right to draw its supplies of revenues by way of a permanent title to interest."

"No free-born and honourable person ought to be permitted to sell his or her labour to another on a precarious wage determined by the forces of supply and demand and irrespective of the consideration of any profit-sharing in the fruits of that labour after being multiplied by the dead stock of the multiplying capital belonging to another... In the present age we have reduced about 80 per cent of the human population to such a low state of a precarious wage-earning class, and hence all the multifarious ills and evils in the present-day society."

"Oh such be the dupes of misguided civilisation, drunken with the achievements of modern Science, and turning the engines of progress into the giants of steam and electricity hissing out fires of destruction far and near among the poorer ones of their fellow-brethren! We are handling the power of giants, but at the helm of our ship of state, the body-politic, we have been guided by some evil genii who, either do not know how to use the new forces for the benefaction of the human race, or knowing they have driven us, perhaps to serve their own temporary ends, to be engulfed into the whirlpool of the inevitable disruption of all society bonds of law and order, and to be plunged headlong in a state of chaos and confusion and unequilibrium of the balancing forces of civilisation. The Bolsheviks are already the augury of the reactionary forces of discontent, resentment and retaliation, of the exploited peasantry and outraged labour, and unless our legislators and statesmen become wise in time, such armies of the hydra-headed dragon's teeth will rise from above the most unsuspected nooks and corners of the earth as would drench the soil with human blood."

The Author.

PREFACE

If an apology were needed for the book, I would say that the book is its own apology. For I can trust my readers would be good enough to overlook its many shortcomings, of which I am deeply conscious, if for no better reason, than because of at least this, that the protracted effort made in producing it—during the period of six years following the publication of my last book in the line of social studies, namely, *The Labour Problem*—has been the outcome of a sincere and earnest desire on my part to serve Truth and Humanity by means of Truth. This is, in fact, intended to be a supplementary volume to *The Labour Problem*, in so far as several altogether new subjects have been treated herein. It is also complementary to *The Labour Problem* in one respect only. That is, it presents a more precise and scientific statement of my Loan Theory, which is based on the ancient Hindu theory of Interest, that of *Damdupat*. I have sometimes had to quote rather freely from *The Labour Problem* in order to make my social theories somewhat clearer to the reader and thus obviating for him the necessity of referring for explanation to another book.

How this book came to be written is somewhat of a surprise to me also, when I recollect its chequered career. The first part was somehow written for a foreign magazine and it subsequently appeared in the Vedic Magazine of Lahore in its issue of July, 1924. I had then formed a vague hope of contributing a series of articles to the press, but could not complete the following parts at the rate at which I originally expected I would be able to do. The idea, however, stuck to me, and made me work persistingly, and also time and opportunity favoured the endeavour in a manner which I consider to be somewhat providential for the production of such a work. Two of its parts were read by me before a Students' Economic Association, and they were on the whole favourably received in spite of their prodigious length. The difficulty of finding publicity for such papers is great indeed, for even at this time of the twentieth century Socialism and Social Theories fail to find legitimate recognition of their claims on public attention through the press of the day which is also under the sway of Capitalism. At last, however, as Providence would have it, circumstances brought to me an offer from my present

publishers which could accommodate my wish to see these papers published in the form of a separate book, and for this I should express my deep sense of indebtedness to them, and which also speaks not a little for their commendable enterprise.

Call the book a Utopia or whatever you please, the fact remains that the world is actually aching and thirsting for such oases of Utopias as may happen to come its way amidst the barren deserts of stinking materialism of the grossest kind in which it seems to have for the present lost itself. I am, however, not particularly in love with any one Utopia, for my own faith lies in the golden mean of many Utopias.[1] I would indeed much rather like any one of them to be put on its trial and experimented with than subscribe to the policy of aimless drift or *status quo*. It is perhaps this spirit of discontent within me that has at last thrust upon me the unpleasant rôle of a social thinker, which I would have certainly avoided assuming but for the solicitude I could not help feeling for the struggling humanity which appeared to me to be in the throes of a life-and-death struggle against the overwhelming forces of the self generated by the "systems" governing our society. And for holding out that golden mean as my solution and panacea for the multifarious ills under which the present society is groaning, I can claim no originality. It is at best the result of my begging mission on which I entered many years ago like the proverbial seeker-after-the-Truth of the East.

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[1] Moreover, in support of my plea of not guilty I might cite the authority of no less than H. G. Wells for the fact that there were no Indian Utopias in existence to which I could lay any pretensions. [See p. 52, ***Mr. Britling Sees It Through***, By H. G. Wells (Cassell).]

She asked Mr. Carmine, who was an authority on oriental literature, why there were no Indian nor Chinese Utopias.

". . . The primitive patriarchal village *is* Utopia to India and China," said Mr. Carmine, ... "Or at any rate it is their social ideal. They want no Utopias."

"Utopias came with cities," he said, considering the question. "And the first cities, as distinguished from courts and autocratic capitals, came with ships. India and China belong to an earlier age. Ships, trade, disorder, strange relationships, unofficial literature, criticism—and then the idea of some novel remaking of society . . . ."

As, however, I am not afraid of the word Utopia, I may as well note for Mr. Wells' enlightenment—if one may at all take him seriously at such a place—that the Indian Utopia is contained for all time to come in her Great Epic, the ***Ramayana***, which speaks of ***Rama-Rajya*** (the rule of Rama) which was, in other words, ***Dharma Rajya*** (or the rule of ***Dharma***), and it would also be somewhat startling for him to learn therefrom how the City of Ayodhya, the capital of the kingdom, was even bigger in her dimensions than the city of modern London, and that it was also the age of aeroplanes—not to say of ships.

And as Truth cannot be sacrificed even to the most desirable and brilliant imaginings of Utopias and Millenniums, I have indeed made a serious endeavour to pin down each one of my theories, propositions and ideas to the firm bedrock of scientific basis afforded to us by the fairly well-advanced science of Political Economy—and even where I have made bid for. radical departures, I have tried to seek a justification for my proposals from the authorities of the conventional school of economists wherever I could get one to support my proposition. In fact, at one time when I was at the university, my fondness for the 'mathematical school' of Economics had grown out of all proportions and I was supposed to have specialized in what is known as 'Advanced Economic Theory.' But these purely economic studies brought but little satisfaction to me, and even in those days I was so happy at having evolved and formulated out a profit-sharing scheme, otherwise entitled "The just price and due share of labour in machinery output (mathematically solved)," that latterly I incorporated it in *The Labour Problem*, although only to reject it and pass it by in search of more drastic and abiding solutions. And in this connection I might even at the risk of flattering my vanity now make mention of the fact that the basic principle on which this profit-sharing scheme had been worked out coincided curiously enough with one suggested by no less distinguished an economist of the 'conventional' school than Professor Macgregor, the Drummond Professor of Economics, in his inaugural address read at the Oxford University entitled "Motives and Standards in Industry" and reproduced in the *Economic Journal* of March 1923 (see p. 16).[1]

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[1] The following few lines are quoted here for easy reference :—

"It is possible to consider the conditions of a complete franchise in industry; they are those of a complete partnership. This would mean, in the first place, that all the risks were distributed over all the parties, no one being entitled to remuneration on any standard or minimum whatever, but simply *pro rata* according to the amount of the divisible surplus. It would mean, in the second place, some method of equating a definite amount of invested labour with a definite amount of invested capital. It is possible to imagine this done, in spite of the variety of labour, by taking some grade as standard, and measuring from it, as is done in the cotton trade. This would be full partnership, and every partner, whether shareholder or employee, would have a voice in the executive and detailed policy of his firm or industry. In some industries, of course, the majority of votes would then be labour votes, in others shareholders' votes ; but they might cease to vote as separate interests.

This is a theoretical construction of completely shared control or partnership. "

F. B.

Today Socialism has found a place—and a right place—in the domain of economic science. In the new Russia Social Economics is considered to be the true Bible of the people. Undoubtedly, from the practical point of view of a social reformer we have sometimes to deprecate "economism" which means too much of pedagogical discussion making out subtle differences without distinctions which lead you nowhere. Moreover, Socialism does not only deal with the ultimate solutions and reforms to be aimed at, but no less of its worth attaches also to the method by means of which a certain reform is proposed to be introduced. It is both a science and an art and the latter also requires to be scientifically developed, which is as much the work of a social thinker as of the statesman trying to put it into practice. And in this connection I might recommend to my readers a perusal of my Theory of Interest which is closely interwoven with that of State production, of which my bold claim in *The Labour Problem* was appreciated by at least one of its learned reviewers in the following words (quoted from *The United India and Indian States*, Madras, dated 10th August, '22) :—

'He (*i.e.*, the writer) wants all these changes but without a bloody revolution, as a Bolshevist would suggest. He rightly says "that by our theory, the whole change of conditions could be brought about slowly and gradually without needing to raise a whirlwind of revolution except for a desirable revolution in ideas brought about by a right conception of our theories."'

My sense of the matter-of-fact scientific research is, however, subject to one just exception. And that is, as regards my profound faith in the eternal principles taught by all religions, which are so deplorably tabooed by the first Socialist State—the Soviet Russia, where religion is called the opium of the masses. I hope I will not be charged by my learned readers and critics who essentially belong to this intellectual age of the twentieth century—and of which I too am not a little proud—for having yielded so credulously to a strain of deeper faith running throughout my thought—that in the higher spiritual nature and destiny of man. This strain I would admit, is characteristically Indian, for India is unquestionably wedded to religions. But I have myself condemned being over-religious and indeed tried to strike at a happy mean once again in the last part of the book between Science and Religion.

I need hardly confess that I fail to see eye to eye with those who hold that truth invariably lies in the line of an expert, as I think a greater mischief is more often than not perpetrated by reason

of our having only distorted glimpses of truth such as our experts obtain by their compartmental specialization of knowledge. What is wanted today after all the advance of present-day science is a sympathetic vision. I would indeed be erring—if at all—in better company, for instance, that of Auguste Comte, when I say that no modern expert in any one single branch of knowledge can correctly lay down what we in India understand by the word *Dharma*, that is, broadly speaking, a code of Highest Action laying down the functions and duties for the various orders, groups and institutions of mankind. But when last time in writing the Preface of *The Labour Problem* I gave expression to some such ideas, my remarks met with adverse criticism from a few of my learned reviewers who probably rightly believed in the compartmental specialization of knowledge. Perhaps if they had read those remarks in the light of my attempted definition of the word *Dharma* given on pp. 78-79 (*Ibid*)[1] they might have thought otherwise. While I have vehemently repudiated the belief shared by millions of my countrymen to the effect that *Dharma* evolved in the ages gone by could be serviceably prescribed as a panacea for the evils of our modern society, I still yield to the belief that for one who can soar in the higher regions of the spirit mind, there appears before his illumined intellect a new sense of unity of life and purpose behind all the diversity of life and action, and it is from these higher regions of spiritualism that the Eastern sages of yore investigated out all the laws governing

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[1] For easy reference, the following qualifications attaching to *Dharma*, as laid down by the ancient divines, may be cited here :—

" (i) *Dharma* or Highest Action for man must be the same for one particular stage of evolution, as leading to the next step higher in evolution : there can be no two opinions about the " right " and " wrong " of a thing, because perfect knowledge of the next higher step must be truth itself to the present age, and truth must be one and never two.

(ii) *Dharma* is not only based on the highest truths of all the branches of knowledge—of natural sciences as well as spiritual, of economics and politics as well as ethics and philosophy, of physiology as well as astronomy—but is, in fact, the very essence of all knowledge : as comprehending and correlating in proper perspective and their respective importance to man's life and action in the various branches of knowledge.

(iii) There must be as much talk and discussion of *Dharma* as possible, so that public opinion may be very strong about it. The *Brahmans* are those who constantly interpret *Dharma* to the people and act it out in their own lives. Practical *Dharma* of the highest degree must be the first quality of a teacher or a leader of public opinion, or any representative of the people both in public as well as private, before he can be qualified to hold his position.

(iv) No education must be imparted by any academies to any student who does not first qualify himself in theoretical as well as practical *Dharma*.

(v) Any the slightest breach of *Dharma* must be very stringently punished for, both by force of public opinion or threat of social ostracism as well as criminal court of law, although the accused should be fairly and trustingly judged and never harshly and prejudicially."

man's life and actions on this planet—all comprehended under the name *Dharma.*

The Coming Renaissance, however, embodies my faith in the ultimate liberation and triumph of humanity. That faith too is not in the nature of being prophetic or anything inspired. On the contrary, it is based on a very cold, calculating and matter-of-fact reasoning —although it may have derived its sanction from a higher faith in the inexorable laws of *Karma*—that 'you must either mend the system or end with the society.' Certainly, the hope of the Resurrection lies in our power to effect Reconstruction. The words of warning which I wrote after the last Great War at several places in *The Labour Problem* would still bear repetition in spite of many changes having taken place since in the map of the world and the orientation of the Powers that be, because the real powers: those of money and capitalistic or so-called vested interests—remain supreme as ever before—barring, of course, in one blessed region of our earth, that is, Russia.

Of England in particular, I wrote :—

'Thy zenith, oh England, has been reached and the psychological moment is drawn nigh when thou wilt be wanted no more in the Divine Scheme of Evolution like Rome or Carthage, Babylon or Assyria or Egypt that had had their day! A Great Fall, indeed, eh Cæsar! Remember, "The retribution is in the act itself" and howsoever great and mighty thy iron and steel, it will rust in the mire and avail not; and the inexorable law would not take heed of thine splendour and in spite of it would dash thee to the ground, the law, that "without feeling for one-ness of Life, and thus securing co-operation to that end: feeling equally for the lowest human being of the meanest race as well as for the best and the highest, the greatest might and grandeur of the most resplendent of civilisations would be broken asunder, for the bonds that unite human nature are stronger than the strongest steel-plate." Beware oh England! in time, and save thy face and glory. Thou art so much removed from natural conditions and so much drunken with materialism, that it were hardly possible for thee even to accept, not to say of adopting even half of what is here respectfully presented to the world as "the solution." Take my advice in a word and instead of robbing other countries parasitically from a distance, "Come and toil with us side by side under the same sun, by a wholesale emigration of your population and settle down in my country if you will."

'Be humane above everything. Break asunder your material laws of supply and demand by organising truly *Brahmanaic* orders above the trading and producing classes. Sell not education, or justice either through any guarded monopolies. Breathe and feel the pure incense of the one organic existence of the one-body—the body-politic-and-Social—so that the pain in any one part becomes the pain of the rest whole . . .'

Now it needs no saying that it would be a waste of words to offer any warning or advice to a country that represents the worst form of capitalistic Imperialism but perhaps for a solitary silver lining behind the cloud. That is that the bedimmed and fossilized conscience of historic England—famous for her civil wars in the cause of Freedom may yet be reawakened by that stalwart band of

disinterested workers associated under the name of the Independent Labour Party. The British Labour Party stands pledged to the highest and noblest aim, that of the emancipation of labour from the tyranny of capitalism, and the leaders of the party are also some of the greatest thinkers of mankind whose success in their own country means a mighty Social Revolution which is bound to usher in its train a *World-Swarajya*—a true Commonwealth of Nations. It embodies a high promise for the civilisation and culture of the whole humanity. It would in fact be no exaggeration to say that in the I.L.R. may justly be centred the last hope of saving the Western civilisation from coming with a crash to its otherwise inevitable downfall.

Much as I would have liked, still I would now restrain myself from commenting upon the prospects of the new wave of Renaissance dawning upon the Eastern countries in the wake of political and social upheaval. Suffice to say, however, that Industrial Democracy aimed at by all Socialists is about the last stage in the evolution of the forms of democratic institutions and requires a comparatively high growth of intelligence in the people—the proletariat. And, above all, we have to content ourselves with the belief that the 'when,' the 'where' and the 'how' of the course of Social Progress is only known to the Divine Mind, and as such is beyond the ordinary ken of men to comprehend, much less to predict. As the poet says :—

"There is a mystery . . . .
. . . . in the soul of State ;
Which hath an operation more divine
Than breath or pen can give expression to."

Before closing these prefatory lines I think I owe it to my readers to give them some idea of the arrangement of the book.

Part I is, more or less, introductory.

Part II, which is divided into two sections, is a criticism of the present capitalistic system.

Part III contains a comparative examination of the two social philosophies : Eastern and Western, and points to the happy mean as the desirable solution.

Part IV contains a scientific interpretation of the Damdupat's Theory of Loan and recommends a Scheme of Interest which would strike at the root of the capitalistic system.

Part V is divided into two sections. The first recommends certain ideals of art of consumption adapted to natural and

simplified living ; and the second part makes out a case for a rather puritanical view of family life.

Part VI makes out a case for applying a minimum as well as maximum check in all the salaried posts in the State.

Part VII makes out a case for the revival of a high religious idealism and the employment of Science in its service. It points to the self-realisation as the real aim of society as well as an individual being.

Let me, at the end, assure my gentle readers both of the West and the East that this book stands out preeminently for a true synthesis of all that is best in the thought and philosophy of the East and the West.

ALLAHABAD : P. M. L. VARMA.
Dated 16th August, 1928.

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INTRODUCTION

Personal

The author of this book was a student of the Central Hindu College of Benares, now developed into the Benares Hindu University, some thirteen years ago. I was then giving lectures there on the principles of "Sanatana Dharma," "Eternal Religion," that "socio-religious polity" which has gradually deteriorated into the current "Hinduism." He used to attend them and ask thoughtful questions. Out of that relationship, he has requested me to introduce his book to the public. He tells me that he has tried to use some of the ideas of those lectures in new ways. I comply with his affectionate wish.

The Indians are few on whose shoulders sixty years rest lightly. I am not one of those favoured exceptions. Failing health, especially weakened eyes, made me reluctant to undertake the reading and the introducing of a book—which might not be worth the trouble. I was therefore very hesitant. But my quondam pupil was persistent. I had to give in. I am glad I did so. I have read the book through fairly carefully ; and I have liked it, greatly.

The Book

It is an eager young man's book ; a young man, enthusiastic, full of the ideas he has adopted, adapted, evolved, full of the hope that they will be accepted by others and brought into operation, full of faith in their power to improve the lot of humanity if given fair play, and impatient to bring about that change for the better. At the same time, the book is the result of wide reading, careful study, and industrious thinking. And it is written in the spirit with which I am very much in sympathy. It is the spirit of endeavouring to connect the past of India with its present and with the present of the whole human world ; of giving to the long-enduring soul of India a fresh modern vesture in place of its old and now tattered and ragged garments—not to replace that soul itself by another, and one which may quite likely prove to have the nature of a vampire, an obsessing evil spirit.

Its Audience

How far the author has succeeded in "proving" his ideas, I will not take it upon myself to say. Each reader must and will naturally judge for himself. But I feel quite justified in asking for a sympathetic and careful reading of it—from Indians at least. It is true that the author does not by any means limit the scope of his discourse to India and Indians, but takes the conditions of Capital and Labour and their concomitants all the world over for the theme of his critical discussions and curative suggestions. But, in the nature of things, his appeal will ordinarily be largely confined to India and Indians. The Western person is not likely to give ear, much less heedful ear, to what an Indian may have to say on such matters (*vide* the quotation at p. 69 of the book, from the *Economic Journal* for December, 1923). And his inattention is, and will continue to be, justified until India stands on her own feet, until she achieves Self-government. Why should the strong listen to the prosings of the weak? Limbs lacking in strength, heart devoid of valiance, go, presumably, with head also weak and wanting in wisdom! The "sub-ject," the "thrown-under," can have nothing worth listening to, to say to the "sub-jug-ator," the "imposer of the yoke," the top-dog! Physician, cure thyself, first, of thy disease of subjection and its consequent many ills, before thou offerest advice to others as to how their ills may be cured!

We think our fathers fools as *strong* we grow,
Let's hope our stronger sons will think us so!
(with apologies to Pope for liberties taken).

In view of the above consideration I should have been better pleased if the author had written his book in Hindustani instead of English. For the "Mass-mind" is awakening in India, and needs, and is beginning to cry for, its proper food to be given to it in the form in which it can most readily assimilate it. But I am not sorry that he has written in English. English language and literature have their part to play for a few decades more, yet, in this country, and have many good things still to give to it; and, bye and bye, when awakened India has grown a little stronger, a few good things (other than its means of sustenance, its raw products, its money) to take from it too. Also, there is yet a large section of the intelligentsia of this country which prefers to take its mental pabulum from bottles labelled "English." (I confess, with some shame and some regret that I myself find it more interesting to

read and easier to appreciate an English book than a Hindi one; this is all due to the fact that, so far, the new schools and colleges, as distinguished from the indigenous *pātha-shālās* and *madrassās*, have been giving instruction in English; and this, in turn, had to be because Providence, for its own purposes, had willed that East and West *should* meet!). I hope this book may stimulate, or "wheedle," them to think about the possibility—even though they may afterwards decide against it—of utilising, with needed modifications, some of the ancient Indian ideas and ways, which the author expounds in modern counters of thought, for the rearrangement of human affairs here. They will be able to do so usefully, if they have carefully ascertained what lessons can be rightly drawn, as to causes and effects, of ills and remedial measures, from a comprehensive long-and-broad-viewed survey of the past and present history of India, and of Europe, so far as is possible for us common mortals to do, with our exceedingly narrow limitations of vision, on the one hand, and the overpowering complexity of events, on the other.

The Great New Movements of the Oversoul

Great waves of thought, of emotion, of action, especially of thought, have been surging for the last fifty years, in the Oversoul of Humanity. They are of a somewhat new kind, such as are scarcely to be met with in the past, as recorded in what is recognised as "history" by the modern mind. In Samskṛṭ, they call that Oversoul by the name of Sūṭrāṭmā, literally the "Thread-soul." Mass-Mind, Mahaṭ-Buḍḍhi, Collective-Intelligence, Samashti-Buḍḍhi, or even plain Public-Opinion, Loka-mata, are other recognised aspects and well-known names, Samskṛṭ and English, of that same Thing. It is that "*Esprit* de corps," that "public *Spirit*," which "threads" individuals together and makes it possible for them to speak in terms of the unitive and inclusive "We" instead of the separatist and exclusive "I." It is the principle of fellow-feeling, of sym-pathy; the Principle which makes fellow-feeling and sympathy possible; God is Love, in a very important psychological sense. It has a curious knack of, and a unique faculty for, contracting into the narrowest familism and expanding into the widest humanitarianism. It ranges from just above sheer pure egoism (if such a thing be possible, which it is not) to the most

extensive altruism, passing through many kinds and degrees of clan, tribe, group, horde, sect, creed, class, caste, profession, sub-race, nation, race, sex, etc. In current symbols of ideas, Socialism stands for the We-feeling, Individualism for the I-feeling. There is radical and perpetual antagonism between the two. Yet, also, both are necessary, inevitable, always inseparable. Abolish one wholly; the other will also disappear at once, automatically. Sleep, *pralaya*, will be the result, wherein alone there is absolute equality, homogeneity, indeed identity, absence of all difference. The two are as the connected and continuous halves of a see-saw. Lower one end, the other is raised. Cut away one, the other falls down too. The universe is made up of such "pairs of opposites," in every department, in all aspects.

Synthesis of Inseparable Opposites

The problem before us is: Shall the individualistic-I-spirit be allowed to continue to prevail, in and by blind frantic, wasteful competition, or shall a fair preponderance be given to the socialistic-We-spirit and co-operation reign throughout mankind as in a joint family; which side of the ethico-spiritual human see-saw shall be kept higher and which lower ?

Conscious Intellect and Individualism

The newness of the psycho-physical waves, above referred to, consists in this that they are attacking this problem more and more consciously, purposefully, deliberately, as perhaps was never before done in history; and that they are tending to raise the socialistic end of the see-saw higher. As is said in "theosophical" literature (from which the author is rightly courageous enough to make quotations in his last chapter, though he, again rightly, does not make his thesis dependent thereon, by any means), in the very long evolution of the Human Race, developing faculty after faculty, stage by stage, it is the special work of the "fifth sub-race," *i.e.*, the European, broadly speaking, of the "fifth Race," *i.e.*, the Aryan, to develop self-conscious Intellect, the egoistic individualistic "fifth principle." The "modern" mind is therefore putting into terms of wakeful deliberate intellect, what was formerly experienced by the race with lesser conscious clearness, in the shape of emotion-instinct-intuition, with the

intelligence half awake and half asleep, so to say, *feeling* rather than *perceiving*. We find the process recapitulated today, more or less definitely, in each individual life, growing through childhood and adolescence into maturity. Thus it comes about that the modern mind is discussing economical, political, social, and even psychological and religious problems (to say nothing of those of physical science) with a wealth of minute detail of facts and figures, statistics and arguments, and almost overwhelmingly vast collections of information about almost all the countries of the earth, as was never done, and such as is not to be found, in any previous historical period. And, be it noted, the strengthening of "individuality," of the psychical sense of separate personality (as distinguished from the earlier tribal "group"-feeling), and the intensification of "individualism," *i.e.*, of individualistic competition of ego-istic self-ish struggle, are the natural consequences and concomitants of this phase of human evolution, *viz.*, the development of self-conscious intellect; also that, after sufficient experience of this phase, the tendency is natural, too, to a reaction, and a reversion to the "group"-feeling, on a higher level, with richer contents of conscious intelligence, in the shape of Socialism.

The Reign of Individualism

Now, whatever may have happened in pre-historic, legendary, "ancient" Purāṇic times, such history as the modern mind believes in, seems to me—but my reading therein is very limited, it must be confessed—to present continuously the picture of the thought, feeling, and activity of the Individualistic Spirit predominant.

In Religion, human beings have, so long, mostly preferred to believe in an extra-cosmical, personal, individual, almighty Creator, sitting in heaven and doing with his creatures what he wills; and in his vicegerent, sitting in or on the earth, the chief 'priest,' 'wizard,' 'magician,' 'medicine man,' 'wise man' of the tribe or nation or race, as the case may be, the super-Brāhmaṇa, Jagaḍ-Guru, the Lāmā, the Pope, the Khalīfā, etc., the theocrat, in brief. In Politics, the great conqueror and wholesale butcher, the Emperor, the *shāhan-shāhā* the *samrāṭ* and *chakravarṭī* and *sārva-bhauma*, the super-Kshaṭṭriya, the autocrat (of whom the aristocrat and bureaucrat may be regarded as sub-varieties), has been given praise and glory and homage by mankind generally and his-

torians specially. In Economics, the billionaire, the railway-king, the cotton-king, the wheat-king, the oil-king, and now the automobile-emperor, the super-Vaishya, the plutocrat, has been the subject of well-nigh universal admiration and envy. Mention must not be omitted here, of the "party-boss," master of "tammany" and "graft" and "boodle," who is reported to create and demolish presidents of republics and prime ministers of constitutional monarchies, by strokes of his pen on the leaves of his cheque-book (see pp. 38-39 of this book); to bring about wars between nations or stop them, at will, by giving or withdrawing financial help, just as may suit the business interests of Capital; and to reduce military valour and scientific knowledge (Kshaṭṭriya and Brāhmaṇa), both, to the condition of purchased slaves, to further the purposes of that Capital, and prostituting what should be the holy defenders and promoters of human happiness, for the ruin of millions of homes in all countries—thereby firmly binding together "politics" and "economics" and newly justifying the earlier appellation of the "new" science, *viz.*, "political economy."

The side of the Good also, in human affairs, is similarly represented by great individual reformers of religion, like Vyāsa and Buḍḍha, Zoroaster and Moses, Christ and Muhammad, or beneficent monarchs like Ashoka the Priya-ḍarshī (the "loving-eyed"), Marcus Aurelius the Stoic-Saint, and Nausherwan the Just, or great merchant-benefactors of their peoples, the builders of great temples and "pious works" and endowers of long-lasting charities.

In short, the individual "I" has been predominant. But only predominant; not all, not everything. The "We," the col-lec-tion, the "together-binding," of individuals, has obviously never been altogether absent; otherwise the "I" would have disappeared too; but it has been greatly sub-dominant, subordinate.

The Turn of Socialism

The Thread-Soul, the Oversoul, seems latterly to have become somewhat surfeited with this experience. It seems to want a change. It has perhaps had enough taste of the pungent sweets and corrosive acids of excessive Individualism, in the persons of the individuals who constitute the cells and tissues of its vast earth-wide and eonian body. It perhaps now wishes to taste the

milder sweets and salts, the more moderate and wholesome astringents and appetising bitters, of Socialism, in and through the masses of its constituent members (the same souls in new bodies, as some may like to believe, but that belief, very useful and very defensible as it is, in many ways, is not indispensable, in any way at all, to the present arguments, of either the author or his introducer).

On the wide expanse of the plains of thought, the plains of Philosophy, Science, Art, Religion, the idea of an Anima Mundi, a Vishv-āṭmā, a Rūh-i-kul, a Principle of Universal Consciousness, of a Common All-pervading Life, of Unconscious Infinite and Eternal Ideation or Supra-conscious Will-and-Imagination, of an Oversoul of which all individual souls and bodies whatsoever are as the cells of a single organism, and which Oversoul is, in its highest form, ultimately, none else than the utterly self-evident Self, Ātmā, in and of all living beings, the self-proven proof of all proofs ; the idea of the Organic Unity and Continuity of Nature as the raiment of the One Supreme Spirit or Self; the idea of the consequent Brotherhood of Man ; the idea of Physical Science and Art extending on all sides of their present limits into superphysical regions, explorable by means of subtler senses latent and evolvable in the human being—these ideas are dawning more and more brightly on the horizon of those plains (—though the advertisements, in the western papers, especially those of the land of the almighty dollar, show that this growing harvest of "spirituality" is also being turned into cash diligently !)

In Politics, monarchism is being replaced by republicanism, autocracy by democracy (—though democracy, in the far as well as the middle West, continues to be hood-winked and wire-pulled almost worse than ever before by the vested interests of plutocracy *cum* aristocracy *cum* bureaucracy *cum* theocracy, and, if released from this control, threatens to become "mobocracy"). National clawings and fangings are being attempted to be abated by an International League of Nations (—though that League does not include, does indeed deliberately exclude, in the spirit of the hypocrite and the bully combined, representatives of the bulk of mankind composed of the weaker exploitable and "mandate-" able peoples (see p. 96 of this book, where M. Korniloff is quoted, describing the League as "a band of bankers, bourgeoisie and banditti," and referring to "the rapacious spirit . . . of the mandatories"). It is much that the last vast surge of action, the

Great War, has been interpreted as "a War to end war" (even though the snarlings and spittings continue as bad as ever, almost). Thanks to the loss of flesh and blood, literal and metaphorical, there is at least widespread talk of a general disarmament, of shedding the fangs and claws (even though, instead of the remnants of these being shed, the broken ones are being, or, rather, have already been, repaired and renewed and the lost ones replaced, and, moreover, are being supplemented with stronger and fiercer beak and talon of aeroplane and shark's teeth of submarine). Even generals who took "distinguished" part in the Great Butchery are lecturing to the public on the *futility* of tooth-and-claw methods.[1] And peace-movements and youth-movements are growing in many countries.

Russia has initiated, though in a setting of much violence, a tremendous experiment in a new form of political government expressly subservient to Economic Socialism, Karl Marx's *Das-Capital* being reported to be the Soviets' Bible. But it seems to be already modifying the governing ideas thereof, as regards abolition of private property, considerably, so far as even Russians themselves are concerned, besides granting very long leases to foreign concessionaires and capitalist-profiteers, for developing the natural resources of the country, with entire exemption from the laws, as to limitation of property, which govern the Russians (vide *The Soviet Year-Book for 1927*).[2] And it is not at all possible yet to say how far the experiment will succeed. China is also engaged in a vast struggle with another experiment. Other countries, in the near West, Turkey, Afghanistan, Arabia, Egypt, are all heaving with new ideas of government.

More important to Indians than all these, and of greater promise for the well-being of humanity, is the bringing into the field of politics, by Mahatma Gandhi, for the helping of the exploited weaker peoples, and amongst them too of the vast poorer masses specially, as their best weapon, of the method of passive resistance to, civil disobedience of, "non-violent non-co-operation" with, evil

[1] *E.g.*, Field-Marshal Sir William Robertson, Chief of the British Staff College, on 8th November, 1927, and Brigadier-General F. P. Crozier, C.B., C. M. G., D.S.O., on May 28, 1928, in London.

[2] A recent biography of Signor Mussolni, by his private secretary, Mrs: Margherita Sarfatti, reports him as quoting *Lenin* to the effect that "Capitalism had a greater part to play in Russia in the future than it had done in the past." The quotation is not full enough to show that Lenin did not mean State-capitalism, something very different from (though as liable to abuse as) private individualistic Capitalism.

generally and all evil government specially. This new application of the principle and policy of the ancient *hartāl* of India (expressive of public disapproval and dissent generally, on all sorts of occasions, but mostly with reference to unpopular administrative measures of the ruler of the day), and of the modern Western economic "general strike," to the sphere of potitics, is a true inspiration given to Mahatma Gandhi by the Oversoul of Humanity for reducing the horrors of war, and will, bye and bye, let us fervently hope, justify the anciently recognised fact, *Ex Oriente Lux*, in Politics as in Religion and Philosophy. It is a noble endeavour to demonstrate ***practically*** and on an immense scale in politics, the philosophical and ethical truth that hatred can be conquered more successfully by (intelligently and passively resistant, and not merely submissive and acquiescent) love than hatred.

Such are the signs of the new activity of the Oversoul, in Politics.

In the domain of Economics also, the idea of co-operation is growing into greater and greater prominence and importance, co-operation between producers, between them and capitalists, between both and consumers; the idea that co-operation, "mutual alliance," is more necessary for the progress, the life, the very existence of the race than competition and struggle (as excellently expounded in Prince Kropotkin's ***Mutual Aid***, almost the first scientific counterblast to and corrective of the extreme elements in the Darwinian "mutual struggle").

Different Aspects of Individualism and Socialism

We thus see that in all departments of human life, new ideas, new feelings, new enterprises, which are the reverse of those that have so far held sway, are slowly, with many backslidings, many a slip 'twixt the cup and the lip, slowly forcing themselves into prominence in human affairs.

In terms of Psychology, the mass-mind rather than the single particular mind; of History, the people rather than the king and the hero; of Ethics, altruism rather than egoism; of Science, Unconscious or Supra-conscious Spirit-ualism rather than materialism; of Religion, Spiritual rationalism; and Universal Brotherhood rather than unquestioning faith, blind *credo*, sectarianism and shibboleths; in Politics, internationalism or humanism rather

than nationalism, and democracy rather than autocracy; in Economics, socialism rather than individualism. All these pairs of opposites are inseparably allied aspects of one another, and the sufficient prevailing of any member of any pair over its opposite will be sooner or later followed by the prevailing of all its corresponding members in all the pairs over their respective opposites.[1]

The Most Important Aspect

For our present purposes, the pair of Socialism and Individualism is the most important. The advent of "*The Coming Renaissance*," hoped for by the author in common with large numbers of human beings in all countries today, depends upon the achievement of successful domination, by just and rational Socialism (we will not say "spiritual" socialism lest some worthy readers be repelled) over the now unrestrained Individualism.

That all fundamental human problems have to be threshed out today primarily in the economic terms of Individualism and Socialism, is evidenced by the fact of the evergrowing literature upon the subject of the antogonism between these two; by the many varieties into which Socialism has become subdivided, each advocated by an important and influential school of thinkers; by the frequency with which the terms meet the eye in ephemeral but influential journalism as well as somewhat more lasting but less wide-reaching books, even when other subjects are being directly dealt with; by the fact that all the newer text-books, professedly and expressly of "*political* science," make sure to give large and prominent place to a discussion of this pair; by such a violently striking fact as that above referred to, of the *political* revolution of Russia being based on the *economic* ideas of Socialism; and, more than all else, by the simple, unmistakable, unquestionable fact that political institutions have no other just and rational aim than to subserve the *economic* needs of the people, in the larger sense of the word, from the Greek *oikos*, and the Samskrt *okas*, meaning the house, the home. States originate, and are developed, governments exist, and are maintained by the people, in order that "homes" may be happy, through the securing

[1] The Russian Soviet's reported crusade against *all* religion may safely be regarded as only a passing phase of excessive reaction against soul-stultifying Eikon-ism and priestcraft, and not as permanent hostility to "spirituality," which is fundamental to Soviet Brotherhood, even though not yet expressly recognised. So long as human beings suffer pain and death, so long they must and will have the consolations of religion—even false if they cannot have true.

and assuring (*yoga* and *kshema*) to the people, by the State and the government, of all the requirements of the happy home; they have no other ***raison d'etre.***

The Close-knit Web of Human Life.

Now "homes" cannot be happy without an "equitable distribution," to all families, of the physical as well as the ***psychical*** means of happiness, *artha* in Samskṛt (or, in a broader view, the four *purushārthas*, aims or ends of human life; see the reference to "values that are human," at p. 11 and the quotation from Ferdinand Lasalle, at p. 141); for "men do not live by bread alone"; they want *panem et circuses;* and the *circuses* take different forms for different temperaments. Such equitable distribution is not possible without proper "social organisation," in Samskṛt, ***samāja vyavasthā*** (***vide*** the quotation, at p. 69, from Thomas Kirkupp's ***History of Socialism***). Social organisation means "divison of labor," ***karma-vibhāga.*** Successful and efficient divison of labor is possible only when there is a scientifically correct "classification of psycho-physical temperaments" (idiosyncrasies, inclinations, dispositions, special abilities, vocational aptitudes, etc.) and the grouping of individuals into a few main "orders" corresponding with the main temperaments (the man of knowledge, the man of action, the man of acquisitive desire, all differentiating and specialising, by "spontaneous variation," out of the unskilled workman as the general plasm); ***varṇa-vyavasthā*** or ***chātur-varṇya.*** Such classification is possible only when the "educational system" is properly organised, and the aptitude ascertained, by appropriate methods, during the "school-and-college" days, of each individual pupil; the ***guru-kula*** system. The grouping of the people into vocational orders, and the division of the social labor between these orders, fulfil their purpose when appropriate functions or vocations are assigned to persons of corresponding psycho-physical temperaments; ***ḍharma-karma-vibhāga.*** In order that the persons to whom the functions are assigned may discharge them adequately, means of subsistence must be assured to them; for this there must be a corresponding division of "means of livelihood," leading, as a consequence, to an equitable divison of "the necessaries of life," and securing a minimum-comfortable-living to all; ***vṛṭṭi-vibhāga*** or ***jīvikā vibhāga.*** Such division of the means of livelihood between the several orders,

the insistence that each order shall gain its living by pursuit of only such bread-winning or money-making avocations as are fixed for it, will regulate and restrain the play of the individualistic instinct, and will prevent the blind and frantic competition wherein each and every individual is permitted, by the *laissez faire* policy, to grab at all kinds of "livelihood," *i.e.*, money-making methods, at one and the same time. "Necessaries of life," it may be noted here, ordinarily mean the objects of the "physical" appetites, food and clothing, spouse, dwelling place, and subsidiaries. "Efficient and whole-hearted performance of appropriate function" by each individual is possible, further, only when a corresponding division is made of "the luxuries of life" also (the rewards and prizes of life) for, as said before, men do not live by bread alone, and they need other things for their *psychical* satisfaction, which things, incidentally, act as "individualistic" *incentives* to them to put forth the best that is in them, in their respective vocations. The "luxuries of life" are the objects of the "psychical" appetites or ambitions, *eshāṇā-s*. These are, mainly, honor, power, wealth, and amusement, corresponding to the four main temperaments; *rāḍhas-as, or ārāḍhanaḍs.* In order that all this may be done, all these divisions and partitions made and worked, it is necessary that there should be, firstly, wise "legislation," providing for them, and, secondly, firm "execution" of the laws made, to enforce and give actual effect to the provisions of the law. Finally, in order that there may be such legislation and execution, the people, whose "homes" are to be made happy, must "select and elect" from among themselves, their best and wisest, their most philanthropic and most capable, the "higher self" of the community, in short, to be the legislators and directors of the executive. So is the "virtuous circle" completed, so are all departments of human life, educational, political, economic, domestic, all "organs" of the social organism, closely and inseparably connected together, educative-legislative head, executive-regulative arm, sustentative-distributive trunk, all-supporting-industrial legs—all vitalised by the heart, *viz.*, the "home."

The Author's New Ways of Presentation

I have been trying to expound these ancient ideas for over twenty-five years now, in various ways, in speech and writing, at public meetings and conferences, by articles in journals,

and in books. I am very glad that the author has felt himself impelled from within to carry on the work, and is endeavouring to present them from new standpoints, in other lights and settings, in different language, and to re-enforce them with fresh arguments, based upon facts and figures supplied by another layer of up-to-date literature.[1] He has been obviously induced by the same "Spirit of the Time" to make his contribution of thought and hope towards "the Coming Renaissance"; and has produced a very readable work, worthy of the attention of reformers. A very useful feature of it is the large number of interesting and informative quotations from mostly Western recent writers on sociological subjects, made by the author for purposes of criticism and refutation of their views, or support and illustration of his own.

Leading Ideas

I have observed with pleasure the author's recognition of "two natures—the one higher and the other lower" (p. 2), of "the lower and the higher self, whether of individual or society" (p. 6); of the need "of the subordination of the lower self by the higher" (p. 7)—which is the very essence of true Self-government, though that vitally important fact is, unhappily, not clearly recognised, and not allowed to operate, in even the most advanced so-called self-governments of the day; of the need that "legislatures should be composed of the most selfless and disinterested as well as the ablest and wisest persons of the race" (p. 7), that legislators should be "political ascetics" (p. 137); of the need to obey the "Law of Sacrifice" (pp. 6, 12, 31); of the need to establish a "Balance of Power" between "the great powers of Wealth, of Public Authority and of Intellect" (p. 11); of the "three Orders . . . of the Wealth-producing, . . . State-executive . . . State-legislature . . . the fourth . . . or the wage-earning" "the much-condemned Shudra," in the West also, for a wonder, (p. 11,20,143); of "the sordid ambition for wealth . . . ambition for power . . . ambition

[1] It is also a great satisfaction to me that these ideas have begun to receive notice and elicit criticism in the West, now and then, as, *e.g.*, in the latest work of the veteran philosopher and sociologist of Britain Prof. J. S. Mackenzie, *viz.*, *Fundamental Problems of Life* (1928), and in E. J. Urwick's *The Message of Plato* (1920). Why a great satisfaction? Because after discussion in the West, they will receive greater attention here. It is not any irony of fate, but a law of nature, that ideas, like human beings, should get rusty and hackneyed and lose honour in their home, with lapse of time, and should get freshened up by a journey abroad, though, as said in the text, earlier, there are special difficulties in the way of Indian ideas, at present.

for honor" (p. 11)[1]; of "disinterested service" (p. 12) and "right ideals of public service" (p. 149); of the value of "the golden mean", (pp. 13, 58, 71, 119), of "prosperity-sharing instead of profit-sharing" (p. 73), of "plain living and high thinking" (p. 104) instead of "everywhere means, nowhere an end" (p. 41), and of avoiding "misdirected production and misdirected consumption" (pp. 35, 55); of the need to make "a practical combination of the best in all systems" (p. 70), to bring about "a better form of social organisation" above all (p. 69), and apply "communistic principles to individualism" (p. 14), which is impossible without the right kind of social organisation. That this may be done, "our future reformers" should possess "(1) a most comprehensive understanding of all the social problems and their right solution, and (2) an almost superhuman intuition or spiritual vision" (p. 163). As the purpose of the second qualification is exhausted by the first, it might perhaps be well to substitute "driving power" for "intuition." Reformers possessed of such qualifications would be able to reform "human nature" as well as "human institutions" (p. 155) in connection with, and in action and reaction upon each other, as is endeavoured to be done by Manu, the first Indian law-giver, the very foundation of whose socio-(domestico-economico-politico) religious polity and laws is the *social organisation*, now known as "the caste system," which has become wholly corrupt and meaningless because of excessive insistence on the half-truth of "heredity" and utter ignoring of the supplementary and more powerful half-truth of "spontaneous variation" and because of complete neglect of the partition of the "means of living" and the "prizes of life."

Concrete Application

Deep truths look like hackneyed truisms and platitudes, if presented to an ennuied reader in the same old stale settings and phrasings. They resume their character of deep truths, and come with fresh effect, as if they were original discoveries, if presented in novel surroundings. I hope that this book will perform such good office for those mentioned in the preceding para.

[1] The adjective "sordid" in connection with wealth is scarcely justifiable; for power and honor are as liable to abuse as wealth, and all are equally capable of beneficent employment also; and similarly, the expressions, "power for its own sake . . . honour and knowledge for their own sakes," on pp. 146-7, require amendment by the elision of the last four words; so too may the adjective "pure" be usefully removed from before "power" and "honor" on p. 138.

In the light of those general principles, the author discusses, in Pt. II of the book, the "Need for Socialistic Checks" to be applied to unbridled individualistic competition; in Pt. III he adversely criticises "extreme communalism," with special reference to Dr. R. K. Mukerjee's views, and puts forward his own "Solution .... the golden mean ... by introducing a sort of 'village self-government" with powers over "local subjects" (p. 71). In Pt. IV, a specially noteworthy chapter, he pleads for "a just and humane theory of interest in pursuance of the same golden mean between excessive Capitalism, "that disease ... the most virulent ... which is eating into the vitals of ... society" (p. 78), on the one hand, and the abolition of all private property on the other, such a thing as "the altogether impracticable scheme of extreme communism which seeks to extend the principle of the joint-family to the entire human family" (p. 142). In the subsequent Parts, he usefully expounds the "ideal of the joint family" and its limitations, "the place of woman in society," and "Labor-relations and Ethics of distribution"—all with regard to the social organisation which he has in mind as securing the desirable golden mean in all respects.

To those who attach greater importance to concrete particulars than to general principles, the chapter on "a just interest" should prove of special interest. Specific curative suggestions for dealing with the particular ills of society are to be found in appropriate places throughout the book; but the author lays particular stress on two (p. 151), *viz.*, the regulation of interest on loans, and the assurance of an "average standard of living," "a minimum-comfort-wage," "an average-comfort-wage," for all, by legislation (p. 137). This is in entire accord with the spirit and the traditions of India. Manu and the other law-givers of India, without going to the unwise extreme of total prohibition, reprobate usury and fix moderate rates of interest, for various kinds of loans, graduating them in proportion to the risk involved, in the spirit of "insurance," as also did the old Roman law. They similarly condemn excessive use of machinery and large factories (p. 97). The religious law of Islam forbids the taking or giving of interest altogether, and is, therefore, more honored in the breach than in the observance.

There is everywhere a natural and just prejudice against usury, *i.e.*, excessive interest, as there is against rack-renting, against profiteering, against exploiting, against all excess, in short.

And thore s no such general prejudice against, but rather there is a similarly just prejudice in favour of, a reasonable interest, and a fair profit which will yield a "living-wage," every "golden mean" in short. Interest should be treated as "profit" of a business whose stock-in-trade is "money" instead of "goods"; for money now, like the railway or the post, is a necessary of social life as much as food and clothing of individual life; and the charging of interest should, like all other human actions, be restrained from excess. The principle of "liberty, but within limits," applies here as elsewhere; *laissez faire*, carried to extremes, would abolish all law whatsoever. A new convert to Islam asked the prophet Muhammad's son-in-law, Ali, equally wise and heroic, who is said to have introduced Sufism (Sophia, the ancient soul-wisdom, into Islam: "Is .man free or bound by Destiny." Ali said: "Lift up one foot." He did so. "Now lift up the other." "Cant." "Well, man is obviously half free and half bound!"

Communism and Politics

I have been greatly interested in the author's criticism of the "Communalistic Philosophy" (pp. 59—62) of Dr. R. K. Mukerjee. (By the way, I would dispense with the extra syllable "al," which seems quite superfluous; "communistic" is quite enough, and apparently more appropriate, and sanctioned by Western usage too; whereas "communal" and "communalist" and "communalistic" have become associated in present-day Indian journalism with Hindu—Muslim — Christian—Sikh—Jain—Brahman—non-Brahman—Touchable —Untouchable, etc., religious and sectarian dissensions and riots and antagonistic views and political claims, and so on). The author, after stating Prof. Mukerjee's views by quotations, (amongst which is one of special interest to Indians regarding Japanese village government, at p. 60), says, "he has omitted to discuss the political aspect of the scheme" and "has failed to clarify some most fundamental issues" (pp. 63—65), and that "Communalism shares the defect of Anarchism, which also could not visualise a social re-construction more complex than that of a Russian village community, and as such can only be practically applicable to the isolated agricultural village communities" (p. 70). On the next page the author suggests his own solution, in general terms.

Desha-bandhu C. R. Das' Scheme of Swaraj for India

With reference to the above-quoted remark as to the visualisation of a comprehensive social reconstruction, I drew the author's attention to the "Outline Scheme of Swaraj for India," which was drawn up by the late Desha-bandhu Chitta-Ranjan Das and myself, in January, 1923, and to the Appendix of Notes which I added to it, giving explanations and reasons. I believe that the scheme takes due account of the political as well as all other aspects of the people's life, leaves no fundamental issue untouched, and deals with the conditions and requirements of "agricultural" village communities as well as "professional" town-populations, without being able, of course, in the circumstances, to go into much detail. The author has informed me that he had read the text of the scheme when first published, but had not studied the appendix, which he has now done; and that he finds himself in agreement with the views expressed there to such a large extent, and his differences therefrom are so minor, that he has decided to print the whole as an appendix to this book, to supplement his dissertations

The Statesman's Task of Reconciling Opposites

The communistic spirit and methods of the joint-family (whence clan and tribe) are naturally more suitable to village-populations, with their comparatively "homogeneous" life and uniform occupations, and which may, sometimes, actually be wholly or largely the descendants of a common patriarchal ancestor. Such spirit and methods were formerly the rule in Indian villages,[1] and may even now be found here and there though in a very small degree, having been irresistibly abolished by the operation of new, unwise, thoughtless, or deliberately selfish and mischievous laws. The individualistic spirit and methods, on the other hand, tend to come more to the surface in the towns, with their more "heterogeneous" life, their greater play of intellect, their multifarious and complex professions and occupations. The delicate balancing of these two equally inevitable instincts of human nature, the individualistic and the socialistic or communistic, the utilising of both in appropriate settings, the reconciling of them by assigning to each its proper time, place, and circumstance, is perhaps the highest task and test

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[1] See Dr. Annie Besant's *Lectures on Political Science* (Adyar, Madras) and Prof. Radha Kumud Mukerji's *Local Government in Ancient India.*

of legislative wisdom and statesman's skill.[1] Knowledge of the psycho-physical nature of man *(adhyātma-jñāna)*, understanding of not only the evil and selfish motives which move him (—unhappily, and very unwisely, it is almost universally assumed today that only that politics is "practical" which takes account of only these)—but also the good and unselfish ones which actuate him—this is indispensable for him who would administer human affairs. It would have been well, therefore, if the author had developed more fully and systematically the idea he has expressed at pp. 149-150, *viz.*, "an impetus is all that may be wanted for the development of talent." This "all" is a very important "all."

Psychical Causes

The genuinely "communistic" organisations of the communities of early Christian monks, dwelling in very large numbers in the monasteries of the Egyptian Thebaid, with every circumstance favorable for success, yet split on this rock, *viz.*, the lack of such impetus to work. As Gibbon says, in describing their attempts and their failure (in Ch. xxvii of his great work on *The Roman Empire*): "The industry must be faint and languid which is not excited by the sense of *personal interest*." The practical experiments of Robert Owen, his socialist colonies, split on the same rock. The calculations of the Russian Bolshevik Soviet Government are reported to have been upset by the same difficulty. As example of another kind of trouble, also psychical, is the case of experiments which, it is reported, have been tried in the West, especially the U.S.A., along the lines of J. S. Mill's suggestion (*vide* foot-note at p. 20 of the book); the managing officers, who have had to be appointed unavoidably, have, before long, developed the bureaucratic and autocratic spirit. But why need we go to these distant examples? Why not go to the very familiar and close at hand archetype itself of all socialism and communism, the joint family of India? Why do joint families break up at all? There, if any-

[1] "Ancient Peru has shown us the practicability of socialisation on a tremendous scale, even if the example be one to avoid rather than adopt. . . . The methods employed were tyrannical in the last degree, nobody being able to move away from his allotted task or appointed district without a special permit. There was no reconcilement of the paternal principle with the individual liberty which remains a fundamental human desire. Reconciliation indeed may be an impossibility. . . We can only hope reconciliation is not impossible, and real social stability attainable without stagnation." A. R. Cowan, *A Guide to World History*, pp. 335-6.

where, should the socialist maxim work, and does work to whatever extent it does so at all, the maxim, *viz.*, "From each according to his capacity and to each according to his needs." The maxim governs the joint family only so long as a common ancestor remains alive. He or she is the human embodiment of the maxim, and also of a benevolent and righteous "state-force" which *un-selfishly, lovingly, impartially, and unresistedly,* compels all the members of the family to observe it in their conduct. As soon as that strong thread breaks, the beads scatter apart; for selfishnesses, lazinesses, jealousies, in short, evil motives, gain the upper hand, which formerly had been kept under by the good motives felt and spread and imposed by the common ancestor. The socialist maxim suffers, in the hands of most workers, whether with brain or with muscle, "a great change, into something very strange" yet very familiar, *viz.*, "The least that I must do and the most that I can take," and, in the hands of the "mighty," undergoes the Roman variation: "From all the provinces according to their utmost capacity, and to Rome according to the needs of its wildest and most luxurious caprice and avarice"—which is also the guiding maxim of the governments seated in the huge capital-towns of the advanced nations of the West, today, especially those "owning" "dependencies" (whose inhabitants cannot become emperors, as Roman provincials could)—the capital towns "which waste in each night's bouts the wealth of kings." The "central authority," the "managing director," the now somewhat conventional, as distinguished from the deceased natural, head of the family, not inspired by the same love for all the youngers, and not inspiring the same confidence and respect, consciously or unconsciously begins to absorb the bulk of the property, the earnings, the advantages. Or the junior members shrik work, and want to share and share alike. Or each mother tries to secure extra comforts for her children. Bickerings begin. The joint family breaks up into a number of separate families. The process is repeated generation after generation.

Socialist-politicians have this patent psychological fact before their eyes, obtrusively. Yet the many schemes and books put forth by the various schools of socialism do not touch it, much less grapple with it, in its *psychical aspect*, so far as I am aware, with perhaps a very rare exception here and there; *e.g.*, the "conscientious objector" of the war-days, sincere-minded, un-jingoistic, humanitarian, (to judge from his writings), and also brilliant mathematician, sociologist, and philosopher, Mr. Bertrand Russell recognises (in his

book, ***Roads to Freedom***) that the causes of human troubles are ***psychological***; and he seems to have also caught up the old Indian idea of duly utilising, and regulating, honor, power, and wealth as incentives, but has touched the subject very cursorily.

The difficulty is indeed a psychical one, and psychical remedies, working automatically and perpetually from within each individual concerned, by internal attraction—and all are concerned—are needed; devices, more or less mechanical, operating from outside, by external compulsion alone, are bound to fail. Compulsion from outside must be supplemented and helped by impulsion from within. As said elsewhere, if reports be true, in Bolshevik Russia peasants began to avoid producing more than was "necessary of life" for themselves, more than they were allowed by the Soviet State to keep. Why should they produce more, for the State to take away, for alleged purposes which did not come home to them at all, in their daily life? They saw no fun in doing so. They had not the necessary "patriotism." Even "patriotism" requires aliment. That nourishment is psychical—honor, power, wealth, amusement. Let it be noted here that, while the joys of honor and power are obviously psychical, wealth too does not mean mere collections of physical objects but the joys of artistic possessions and of helping (or in the case of the evil-minded, hindering) others. Manu, the oldest law-giver of the oldest living civilisation of the earth (except perhaps the Chinese) and his compatriot philosophers, have left behind the needed guidance on this point—as to how the natural psychical appetites, the *eshaṇā-s,* the ambitions, of the different types of temperament, and their respective objects, honor, etc., should be utilised as incentives to effort, as competitive, individualistic, motives to excel in public spirit and public service, for the organisation of the Society of the Human Race, and the due performance of the social labor. The appendix to the Swaraj Scheme, above referred to, has more to say on the point; for it is by the light of such traditions that that scheme tries to strike a balance between Individualism and Socialism. It is only when the sovereign-body, the central authority, the selected and elected (honorary, un-salaried) Legislature (and Director and Supervisor of the Executive) in a State, approximates, ***ethically*** as well as intellectually, in largeness of heart as well as ripeness of experienced wisdom, to the living patriarch of the joint family, that the longed-for reconciliation between Individualism and Socialism will be approximated to in that state. And this is not impossible, if high ethical and intellectual qualifications

are prescribed for "electees," and if electors are systematically educated to choose wisely persons possessing those qualifications and so approximating to the higher Self of the "nation," or better, the "people," of the State.

The Case of India

The whole country deplores the premature passing away of Chitta-Ranjan Das, whom it spontaneously honored with the loving title of "Desha-bandhu," "the friend of the country," as it has honored Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi with the title of "Mahatma," "the great-souled," and Bal Gangadhar Tilak with that of "Loka-manya," "the honored of the people." But to me, personally, his too early departure, within a comparatively short time of the publication of the Swaraj Scheme, has been a matter of special and very deep regret, for special reasons.

After many years of persistent reminding, the time has now arrived, with the help of fortuitous circumstances (such as the make-up, wholly with foreign personnel, of a British Commission to enquire into the changes needed in the Constitution of India, and a challenge thrown out by a too smart British Secretary of State for India with a termagant tongue, which in this case has proved useful to India), when the political leaders of this country have found it necessary to turn their attention to this vitally important task, of making their own and the people's mind clear as to what form of Swaraj is most suitable for and most needed by India; and they have, at an All-Parties Conference, adopted a Swaraj Constitution.[1] The tendency, very naturally, after over half a century of study and absorption of Western ideas, has been to copy the West, and the framers of the Recommendations, accepted by the Conference, expressly say that they have followed Dominion models. Yet they also themselves say in their preliminary report, with reference to the parliamentary elections of England, that they are such as "make every intelligent person despair of democracy." But, all the same, so far as I can see, no measure has been provided by them, in the Constitution which they have recommended, which may be calculated to make the democracy, into which it is obviously intended to lead India fully, any more hopeful, any less desperate.

[1] At Lucknow, in the last week of August 1928.

Statesmen, politicians (professional, theoretical, practical, and other), journalists of note, professors of standing, lecturers, writers of text-books on politics and state-constitutions, novelists too, and even government officials of America and England, all today are raising loud outcries and making bitter complaints against the corruptions which prevail at elections, the very undemocratic results that are secured at and by these elections held and conducted in the name of democracy and popular representation, and the suborning of elected legislators.[1] In view of all this, surely those who are burdened with the immense responsibility of suggesting a safe path of progress to India, should have diverted the most earnest, the closest, the longest attention to this very vital question, lest India should fall out of the frying-pan into the fire. But they have not; such is the hypnosis caused by the Western influence. And this is the more regrettable since the genius and the traditions of India have for long ages kept on record suggestions for its solution. The oldest law book of the land, *Manu-smṛti*, prescribes qualifications for the legislator, and Maulavi friends, learned in Islamic lore, tell me that the books on *Fiqah* also contain similar provisions; that is to say, in modern terms, they prescribe qualifications more carefully and prominently for "electees" than for "electors." The author of this book follows the old Indian traditions and the Deshabandhu's Scheme when he suggests that legislators should be "political ascetics" (I believe the phrase is that of the late Shri G. K. Gokhale, another very high-minded, self-sacrificing and statesman-like Indian patriot, himself a "politic ascetic" of the finest kind, who founded the Servants of India Society expressly to be the nursery of such political ascetics, and whom Mahatma Gandhi calls his political *guru*).

Another point, specially worthy of note in this connection, is equally intimately and even more directly concerned with that "social organisation" on which the future welfare of the Indian People, as of other peoples, depends. The framers of the Recommendations say, at another place in their Report: "There is also no doubt that the power of wealth is great in the modern State," but "we are not called upon to advise on a new structure of socie-

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[1] See p 39 of this book. Bryce, in his *Modern Democracies*, records that he asked a U. S. American, "What sort of a legislature have you got?", and received the prompt reply, "As good as money can buy." Michael MacDonagh in his *The Pageant of Parliament* gives long accounts of electoral corruption, but would make out that there has been steady improvement term after term.

ty where the money power is not concentrated in the hands of a few." This may have been technically and verbally correct in their case, yet it is, I believe, generally recognised that, as said before, politics arise out of economics, in the broad sense, and that "demo-cracy" in the West has arisen, against the other "cracies," mainly out of two causes, the economic dissatisfaction and distress of the many, canalised into mass action by the psychical indignation and the intellectual abilities of a few; and the same causes, hurt to stomach and hurt to self-respect, are the great motives of India's struggle for Swarāj. But if this be so, then surely those who take up the far-reaching and all-embracing work of framing a Swaraj Constitution for their people and their country should surely deliberately embody in it provisions which would make economic equity more efficiently operative in the future than it has been in the past. In the present condition of the development of the sociological as well as the other sciences, there is no excuse for trying simply to "muddle through" anyhow, for saying "the distant scene I do not care to see; one step enough for me." To say so is to abolish the need for thinking at all. One step at a time is obviously right for the "actional" fool; but a thousand steps ahead is not too much for the "cognitional" eye to see; indeed it was made to look ahead, to take long-sighted views, to guard the feet from pitfalls and guide them safely to the distant goal. Besides taking cognisance of general world conditions, and of the general world need to regulate the relations and proportions of Capital and Labour, and of Public Property and Private Property, the thoughtful statesman who would deliberately frame a Swaraj Constitution for India, with the conscious purpose of making the lives of all sections of the people happier, must take special cognisance of the conditions peculiar to India, must see that our civilisation has been predominantly agricultural, *kṛṣhi-praḍhāna*, and not predominantly mechanical and factorial, *yanṭra-praḍhāna* and *karmānṭa-praḍhāna*, and has to continue to be so, though, no doubt, the mineral and mechanical resources of the country must be developed, always in strict subordination to the agricultural side—for though men do not live by bread alone, they do so far more than by minerals. Therefore a sufficient supply of "corn, cotton, and cattle," or substitutes for them (if any, in particular tracts), must be provided for in every village, by a carefully planned system of local self-government, with only a minimum amount of control from the centre.

The framers of the Recommendations seem to have been influenced by some sub-consciousness of such requirements and considerations; for, even after making the observation quoted above, they have, with very welcome inconsistency, incorporated a general provision, at least, on this subject, in the Scheme they have proposed, *viz.*, that "Parliament shall make suitable laws for the maintenance of health and fitness for work of all citizens, *securing of a living wage for every worker*, the protection of motherhood, the welfare of children, the economic consequences of old age, infirmity and unemployment." Now, all this cannot be done without a proper organisation of society, and I make the claim here, incidentally, that the ancient Indian *varṇa-ḍharma* and *āshrama-ḍharma* is such an organisation of the social and the individual life, and is intended to, and can, secure all the very desirable aims mentioned in the quotation above, and much else besides, because it is based on the laws and facts of human psychology (as I have tried to show in my other more detailed writings), if only that *ḍharma* be liberally, scientifically, philanthropically (and not bigottedly, perversely, selfishly) interpreted and operated. But if any new form of organisation can be thought out, which is considered to be more in consonance with modern conditions, and is also in accord with the essentials of human nature—without which accord, it is bound to fail—then let the principles, and outlines of that be incorporated into the Constitution. In any case, an organisation of society, such as will make it possible to secure a living wage (and some other things, for as repeatedly said before, men do not live by bread alone) for every worker (by muscle, or brain, or both), is the very foundation of all sound economics and politics; and the principles thereof should be directly or indirectly included in the basic Constitution of the State; as is done in the oldest law-book of the land, already referred to, *viz.*, *Manu-Smṛṭi* (though that organisation, as latterly interpreted most perversely in practice, has become a curse instead of a blessing), and as is also attempted to be done in the Deshabandhu's Scheme. The author's wish to assure a "minimum-comfort-wage," or an "average-comfort-wage," an "average standard of living," by legislation (pp. 137, 151) is in line with these views.

These matters, relating to the current politics and political struggles of India, have been mentioned here to serve as object lessons, to illustrate and "bring home" to the reader the thesis

of the book. To guard against misunderstanding, it should be added that every praise is due to the framers of the Recommendations for their hard work, and for the results obtained, which are excellent so far as they go. If better were not achieved, if what some regard as grave defects have been left in the vision of the goal, the presentation of the ideal to be kept before their mind by the people in their endeavour and progress towards Swaraj—that is the fault of the prevailing mental atmosphere and the total circumstances, over which the framers had no control.

The insane communal disputes; the fetish of "practicalism" (in different yet allied forms, "Let us not talk in the air," "Don't indulge in impatient idealism," "We don't want doctrinnaire philosophising," "Don't look too far ahead," "One step enough for me," "Enough for the day is the evil thereof," "A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush," etc.); the glamour of western political and economic words and methods and of legal phrases and conventional maxims, drawing unjustifiable sustenance from the misused reality of Western Science; the feeling that enslaved India's past has no lessons to give except by contrast, a feeling strengthened by the awful retrogressiveness, the crass narrow-mindedness, the blind self-seeking, of the orthodox Pandits and Maulvis; the lack, on the part of most of the active political leaders of the country, of deep and sympathetic study of the ancient Sanskṛt literature; the consequent impatient rejection of the sound, together with the hollow, ideas of the East, and the hasty acceptance of and obsession by the bad, together with the good, ideas of the West; and, almost more than all else, the exigencies of the rush and hustle of day-to-day politics; these leave no inclination and no energy to the political leaders to devote time and trouble to the thinking out of a comprehensive scheme taking long as well as broad views.

These communal riots of India, today, are, however, it should be borne in mind, far less bloody than those of the Arian, Athanasian, Appollinarian, Nestorian, Novatian, Monophysite, Anthropomorphite, and dozens of other Christian sects were, in the first few centuries of the Christian era, under the Roman Empire; or than the conflicts of Catholics and Protestants, ending in the regular wars of the Reformation, were, in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth Christian centuries; and, in any case, they are far, far less murderous than "the tooth-and-nail clinchings of the great cats," the Great War of the very advanced nations, of Europe—

because of which, for a wonder, nobody suggests that Japan may be appointed as "keeper of the great cats," to keep the peace between them, as the British claim it to be their Divine mission to do in India between Hindu and Musalman ; and socialistic and communistic thought has been only stimulated and intensified by this War in Europe, to the pitch of a vast experiment having been actually initiated in accordance therewith in Russia. As to "practicalism," history shows that the only sound "practice" is that which is based upon sound "theory"; art-and-craft without "science" behind them are shaky rule of thumb; medical practice without knowledge of medical science and anatomy and physiology is quackery. The glamour of the political and economic ideas that have so far reigned in the West, should be countered and exorcised by the fact that that West itself is now seething with dissatisfaction against them. Also, the history of the West itself shows that sudden and complete breakings away from the old moorings, from the centuries-old (in India, the millennia-old) traditions, ways, even mere names and forms to some extent (there is much virtue in a familiar name), have led to disastrous reactions. And, finally, it may be mentioned that the French Revolutionists did not cease from the work of drafting and trying Constitution after Constitution, though all the time in far, far worse hurly-burly, within as well as without the bounds of France.

The ancient traditional principles of our socio (-domestico-economico-politico)-religious polity (—the compound adjective spontaneously applied, by even the most cursory foreign observers, to "Hinduism," justly indicates the inseparable connection, in natural fact and in indigenous Indian thought, between all departments of individuo-social life, however fallen from old ideals that current Hinduism may be—) should, therefore, at all cost of time and trouble, be studiously pondered, and such of them as are judged to be sound and applicable to present conditions, as being fundamental to the Indian (and, indeed, to all human) nature itself, should be carefully kept in view and utilised for our socio-economico-political reconstruction, and should be incorporated in our new Swaraj Constitution, after carefully "visualising," as far as is humanly possible, what sort of "civilisation," what sort of "society," democratic or plutocratic or auto-aristo-bureaucratic or mobocratic, or a balanced and just combination of all, "ratio-homo-cratic," we want for this country, with reference to human nature generally and the Indian temperament specially.

(It should be mentioned here, to guard against misunderstanding, that, though Samskṛt equivalents have been given above, for English words, here and there, and *Manu-Smṛti* has been referred to, the *principles* to which attention is intended to be drawn are concerned wtth "*Human* nature," *Mānava-ḍharma*, generally, and the interests of "Hindus *only*" are by no means thought of; a glance at the Swarāj Scheme, printed at the end of the book, in which English, Samskṛt, and Arabic-Persian equivalents are all equally given, will show at once that the provisions seek to serve the interests of Hindus, Musalmans, Christians, and all human beings of any and every creed whatsoever, living in India, equally and impartially.)

The Desha-bandhu was a great believer in the "temperament" of a people, and whenever there was occasion, used to insist on the desirability of taking due account of it. My personal regret, spoken of before, at his too early passing away, is particularly keen because I feel that if he had been with us today he would probably have succeeded, with his great driving power, in securing for our Swaraj Scheme the full discussion that is indispensable to correct the many defects of detail that there must be in it, and, in any case, getting at least the vital principles which inspire it to be incorporated into the Constitution that has been accepted by the All Parties Conference.

Conclusion

But there is a Providence that shapes our ends, the process of world-mending is unending, the evolution of humanity is a very long process the progress of nations from level to higher level is very slow and liable to repeated set-backs, there must be always something left over at the end of each day for tomorrow, there is no cause to lose hope and heart, and the new generation will achieve what the old leaves unaccomplished.

The author is young. I fervently hope he has many years of life and good work before him. If he continues on the lines of thought on which he has begun, and develops his ideas rightly, steadily, patiently, by study of the works of past and present writers as well as of actual present-day facts and current events, I believe he will succeed in inducing his compeers to sympathise in those ideas and help him to spread them and put them into practice, and

thereby he and his generation will go farther than the older generation in the uplifting of India, which uplifting may perchance help other countries also.

BENARES,
11th November, 1928.

BHAGAVAN DAS.

CORRIGENDA

Page	*Line*	*For*	*Read*
7	25	there	their
8	8	discussed in	discussed above
18 Footnote	16	It is	Is it
27	26	enjoining	enjoying
33	2	inaugurate	inaugurating
44	26	were not to	were to
45	last	vaunted of	vaunted
56	31	better	latter
70	17	Russain	Russian
72	10	touchness	touch
86	25	p.m.	p.a.
97	15	operation	operative
,,	17	Bhagwan	Bhagavan
103	4	with a progress	with progress
104	4	in the miniature	in miniature
,,	6	life	lives
,,	17	nearest	near
,,	19	of	of a
105	17	antic	antique
106	18	hazard	venture
107	25	testimonies	authorities
109	2	nothing as	nothing less as
,,	last	hold	hold,
111	15	such	such an
118	28	by a mere	by mere
127	16	on any cottage	on cottage
130	21	vaunt off	vaunt
132	2	yelling	cooing
134	19	thers was used	there used
151	8	check to	check at
159	8	in our	on our

THE COMING RENAISSANCE

PART I. THE EASTERN VIEW OF PROGRESS AND DEMOCRACY

We believe in Progress, because we believe and take for granted that truth will come out in the end, that truth shall be known, that is, truth will be recognised by us, or in other words, we shall move towards truth.

—*The Author.*

The very idea of " Progress " is modern; some hold that the very word was unknown in the mediæval periods. Whatever be the truth as to that, we cannot but differentiate between inner progress and outer progress : the one in human nature, human ideas and ideals; and the other in the aggregations of our material wealth and possessions. Similarly, we may speak of our social institutions, first, as viewed subjectively, that is, as regards our assigning to them human values and humanitarian motives, or their contribution toward man's development in art and culture; and, secondly, as viewed objectively, that is, as regards their efficiency of organisation, their contribution to man's training for material production or towards producing, so to say, our " military discipline " and " mechanical civilisation." Students of human nature observe no deterioration in it, if not actual evolution, finding as they do in the present day no less of idealistic touches in human lives in spite of a far more concentrated play of self-interest consequent upon the formidable individualistic forces let loose in the train of Industrial Revolution, which had shaken to its very foundation the " placid content "

of the Middle Ages, or even the slow-moving East. Believers in natural evolution of human nature would even ascribe the present state of chaos and camouflage as brought about by the free play of self-interest and a very high productive efficiency to a necessary stage in human evolution, in which we may expect a revaluation of old values—the human nature and human ideals passing through a crucial test—a state of flux in the melting-pot of the forces of inevitable evolution. How far now true humanity would reassert itself equal to the occasion, and true human values would be applied in an attempt to solve the puzzling problems now confronting us, as for example, given rise to by an unprecedented increase in wealth and possessions, upon it depends the true fruit-gathering of mankind round the pivot of so-called progress—the turning of a new page in human evolution—call it a Renaissance !

All progress or evolution, whatever, postulates and assumes the very existence of there being ever-present two opposite sides, two natures—the one higher and the other lower. An advance along the path means either an uphill journey or a downhill journey. In fact, the laws that should govern society or a totality of human beings must be identical with those governing an individual. So that, as we individually exhibit a lower and a higher nature, between which a struggle for ascendancy lasts unceasingly, as if our individuality were constantly pulled in opposite ways—by God or by Satan—the same must hold true of society or any body corporate of men. How far is the higher self of the community asserted or predominated at any given time or in any given system over its lower nature, must be made the true criterion of the justification of that system. To postulate certain higher laws of an evolutionary urge stirring up society just as well as individual units of mankind, as for example—our faith may lie in

any problematical absolute laws of divine justice superseding all human justice, that would be a positive statement of the laws of progress. Such laws, if any, being transcendental and inexorable in their nature like other natural laws—take for instance the law of gravitation by means of which we may at best predict, but cannot alter, certain planetary motions—they would therefore have to be reckoned with and conformed to, at every step. Upon a mere reading of human nature to have evolved in the course of human history in the past is generally grounded our faith in something like evolutionary urge constantly working from behind our society, and follows the blind faith in what is generally termed "natural evolution."[1] But how this familiar term has been misread by coming to imply a sanction of the policy of general drift, or the shibboleth of *status quo*, or taking life for what it is worth and doing no more than adapting ourselves to the wayward courses of a natural struggle for existence carried on on the physical plane, without exercising any conscious effort whatever on our part to lead by our directing hand of guidance the broader movements of social phenomena must be simply deplorable.[2] Thus aimlessly surrendering our-

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[1] This view is made immortal in Hegel's *Philosophy of History*. In his words: "History is progress in the consciousness of freedom. . . . . . We see in Universal History a drama in which nations are the actors. The theme of the drama is human character."

There is another similar doctrine of "Divine guidance of History" based, more or less, on blind faith, as, for instance, we have in Tennyson's *In Memoriam*: "We have but faith, we cannot know"—"Oh yet we trust that somehow good will be the final goal of ill"—"That nothing walks with aimless feet"—and that there is "One far off divine event, to which the whole creation moves." See J. G. Murdoch, *Economics As The Basis Of Living Ethics* (Constable, 1913), pp. 5—6.

[2] This is the teaching of the Materialistic School, otherwise called the Naturalistic School as represented by Hobbes. "The

selves to the forces of nature to work out our destiny in the fond hope that a higher human nature would in due course be evolved first, and then a new era of peace and plenty would be ushered in by a natural succession of things, would be not only a bland confession of our ignorance or bankruptcy of knowledge about the higher positive laws of evolution, but would mean in a way our lending unconscious support to a perpetuation of ignorance. Its other alternative suggested may be to fix our faith in any so-called positive historical school of thought, by which we may at best predict the possible future movements of the natural forces at work by studying the past events and in the light of those predictions prepare ourselves to adapt more successfully to any possible environments in the immediate future. But still without a knowledge of those natural forces at work and the laws at their back, it is hardly an improvement in the situation and is no better than groping in the darkness in the hope

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state of Nature, according to Hobbes and his successors, was a state of war, in which each man pursued the satisfaction of his own desires and necessarily regarded every other man as his enemy. What we call morality was the result of an original compact by which men agreed to forego the satisfaction of certain of their appetites at one another's expense in order not to be disturbed in the gratification of the rest. Man, in fact, became moral and law-abiding, not for the good of others, but for his own sake, because thereby he secured the maximum of selfish pleasure." (Phillip S. Richards in *Nineteenth Century And After*, January, 1928, p. 63.) The learned writer further proceeds to give a crushing criticism of this view of the so-called "Naturalistic School." Thus: "For once, at any rate, the cynics have been definitely proved wrong. Modern scientific enquiry has established beyond possibility of question that man is, and has always been, what Aristotle called him, a political animal. The social instinct, which leads him to prefer a common to a private good, has been present and powerful in his nature from his first appearance on this planet . . . . . Man was not born individual, nor was individualism thrust upon him."

of getting back our lost eye-sight. An understanding on our part of the laws of higher evolution—if any such be—or else our effecting such modifications in the objective conditions of life as are likely to react for the better on the human nature—could alone symbolize the ushering in of any possible Renaissance; whereas by no matter of reasoning can we expect anything better by a materialistic surrender to the forces of blind nature which works on the instinctive plane of animal nature, and looks after our physical bodies, and with which we generally associate the idea of our successful adaptation to environments. We shall leave here without enunciating any such positive higher laws of human evolution governing mankind, but we repeat, that if there be any such, the best that we ought to do would be to conform our human laws to those, so as to allow the natural to express itself as freely and thoroughly as possible through the man-made laws and institutions. This absolute conformity to the higher natural law is another view, and the correct one, of natural evolution and it always leaves much for man to accomplish. Consider, for instance, how we have allowed religion to be thrown into the background in so far as we are indifferent about one's personal conception of the deity or toward the forms and ceremonies of worship, but suppose the moral code enjoined by one religion is different from that enjoined by another, although both implant their dogmatic faith in the existence of certain higher laws, the result would be that we shall have to make a live issue out of the dead letters of those dogmas until the difference is settled at least so far as affecting our view of the positive social obligations towards the welfare of society, which obligations, we know, would at any rate sooner or later refuse to be ignored.

There is still more difficult but less uncertain ground to tread when we make our negative statement of the Law

of progress. There we will emphasise still more the conflict arising between the lower and the higher self, whether of individual or society. Any subordination or an effort to control and counteract the lower nature which expresses itself through our physical bodies, or an effort to attain self-mastery would be a step upward in evolution. We shall leave the individual just now and engage our attention with society first. That there is a higher side as opposed to a lower one in human conduct we presuppose it everyday in a law-court, or in enforcing a social obligation. We may take an apt illustration of this in the so-called "Law of Sacrifice" which enjoins upon the strong to sacrifice for the weak, and the rich for the poor, and upon everybody the realisation of a higher consciousness of community-interest rather than of mere self-interest. We shall of course examine later on questions like, whether community-interest is best served by everyone serving one's own interest which leads to greatest efficiency of production, or whether voluntary sacrifice is more beneficial. We may here as well notice by the way a very real reciprocity of phenomena that exists between the higher will of the community inculcating and encouraging its like in the individuals forming it, while as for any dark spots in the machine or the system of the corporate body, we know how there slightest evil genius tends to multiply itself *ad infinitum*, and so if any reforms are needed, it is the central machine which needs to be purified first and foremost. By all means differ we may in respect of the practical utility of one measure as against another—for instance, whether society must exercise its aspect of power in suppressing crime just as well as in purifying the machine of production; or in exercising checks and control pertaining to hygienic laws just as well as eugenic laws; provided that we agree in the main as regards the principles governing our very outlook on life. If such principles

partake of the Force of Natural Justice working behind them, we may class them with the inexorable and transcendental laws of evolution, the existence of which has been presumed. But, otherwise, in the application of even such principles, we need to form a close estimate of social welfare, of social obligations, of social rights and social wrongs—wherein there is enough room to differ. And therein, too, our path need not be earmarked by any single formula either of " expediency," or " of the greatest good to the greatest number," or of any other average of good weighted with evil, unless it is justified in the light of sound considerations of either any problematical positive laws of divine dispensation, or the natural urge of evolution, or the basic standards of truth. In fact, no contractual obligations or rights of suffrage or powers of monopoly, should be pitched against the blinding force of all-conquering truth—the truth which has the All-mighty potency of the Sustainer-of-all-that-is. Of the nature and essence of such a truth or principle is the law already formulated, of the subordination of the lower self by the higher—holding true in the case of individuals as well as society, to which we will now turn to study and to analyse more exclusively. It must be the first fundamental of all articles of constitution, however wisely framed as being based on principles of justice, or liberty, or fraternity, or equality.

Firstly, let us question what are the guarantees provided in the present-day democratic constitutions, for example, that their legislatures should be composed of the most selfless and disinterested as well as the ablest and wisest persons of the race? The power of franchise is vested in every individual regardless of the fact that some may not possess enough discrimination for the best exercise of their vote, not to say of their being illinformed about the real merits of the rival candidates who, it is tacitly granted

on all hands as a right state of things, should force themselves on the attentions of the voting public by all the arts of self-advertisement or a jugglery in words. Out of the chaos and camouflage of the most sensational day of the year—that of polling—such a serious august body as the legislature emerges out: the creation of a frantic mob—this periodical farce meaning "natural evolution" to many credulous men. We have already discussed in the true meaning of the words "natural evolution,"[1] but here suffice to say, that very often persons returned as a result of this "free choice" exercised by the people are more deeply immersed or self-centred in their own pursuit of the Mammon than caring very much for the interest of the community, or even sometimes their own electorates.[2] Again, evil is further increased by the very existence of various constituencies, classes, protected minorities, monopoly interests and so on, dividing the whole house into so many warring interests, again emphasising by this division a gross perversion of truth, as viewed through the coloured exclusive visions of those divided interests, further

[1] Trusting to the good sense of a people at large to give lead to the country, such as by a referendum, is similar to our putting implicit faith in the beneficence of an economic determination by means of the establishing of a natural equilibrium between the factors of demand and supply—for example, in respect of the fixing of wages, prices, etc., which factors are in turn governed by a free play of self-interest. We, however, signify by the laws pertaining to the "natural evolution of man," firstly, those higher spiritual laws, for instance, let us say, the laws of *Karma* or absolute divine justice, the Laws of the Settlement of Debts, or the Law of Sacrifice, etc., which evolve better humanity from within; and secondly, those objective conditions of our outward life or the system governing our society, which may bring to bear a healthy reflex action on human nature.

[2] For instance, only about five per cent of the members of the British Parliament take active interest in the Parliamentary work. "The rest are mere dummies."

characterised by the familiar phenomena of catch-phrases, party slogans, log-rolling, etc. Under the conditions if there were angelic men returned to the legislatures, but committed as they are to the respective electorates, they would fall far short of any approach to truth—which means the imbibing of the highest ideal of social justice, or community consciousness and community service.[1]

We shall next give a brief outline of our suggestions to reform the system or the most vital part of the whole system. (Quoted from the present writer's book, "The Labour Problem.")

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[1] Cf. J. S. Mill, *Of Individuality, As One Of The Elements Of Well-being*: "In ancient history, in the Middle Ages, and in a diminishing degree through the long transition from feudality to the present time, the individual was a power in himself; and if he had either great talents or a high social position, he was a considerable power. At present individuals are lost in the crowd. In politics it is almost a triviality to say that public opinion now rules the world. The only power deserving the name is that of masses and of governments while they make themselves the organ of the tendencies and instincts of masses. This is as true in the moral and social relations or private life as in public transactions. Those whose opinions go by the name of public opinion are not always the same sort of public: in America they are the whole white population; in England, chiefly the middle class. But they are always a mass, that is to say, collective mediocrity. And what is a still greater novelty, the mass do not now take their opinions from dignitaries in Church or State, from ostensible leaders, or from books. Their thinking is done for them by men much like themselves, addressing them or speaking in their name, on the spur of the moment, through the newspapers. I am not complaining of all this. I do not assert anything better is compatible, as a general rule, with the present low state of the human mind. But that does not hinder the government of mediocrity from being mediocre government. No government by a democracy or a numerous aristocracy, either in its political act or in the opinions, qualities, and tone of mind which it fosters, ever did or could rise above mediocrity except in so far as the sovereign many have let themselves be guided (which in their best time they always have done) by the counsels and influence of a more highly gifted and instructed one or few."

" The true Brahmanaic or legislative order, from our view-point, must be composed of those satisfying certain qualifications and by virtue of which alone eligible for standing at public elections. Who would deny that the legislators of the country must be selfless people, whose main qualification must lie in the height of their sacrifice and not their property acquisitions? To the true Brahmana or legislator the whole humanity must be akin to his own family—he represents the idea of kingship: the father of the subject people. The spirit of renunciation, selflessness and sacrifice must be fully ingrained in his nature, the ideals of social service and public reform must be the stirring ideals within him. The diffusion of Free education must be the great pastime of his leisure. And, above all, he must be the greatest apostle of the average standard of living or the minimum-comfort-wage being secured to the lowest unit of labour.

" To fulfil these qualifications, you may make a number of rules. For instance, he may be past the middle age having led a respectable family life of a spotless character. He must retire—renouncing all other sources of income or if there must be any, it must be devoted to the State or pubic weal. After serving for at least one term of election, he would still for the rest of his life continue to receive the minimum-comfort allowance, and would lead an ideal life worthy of example for others, and may be called upon to partake in any deliberations of the Government when so required. He would not be allowed to carry on any other business that may be a source of income to him, but would make education his sole pastime. . . . . .

" Again for the right exercise of a vote by an individual elector a minimum degree of intellectuality, such as equal to secondary or middle school education, or at least sufficient for newspaper reading must be essential.

"It must be apparent from the above, that when the common law, like any moral code, enters the private life of individuals to the degree as shown, it would depend a great deal at least on the individuals themselves adhering to it to follow it in the spirit or only to the letter of the law, as what happens in the present-day standard of morality of the world."

Underlying the above suggestions, made in brief, there are two principles of fundamental importance. The first may be termed the "Balance of Power" principle. The Great Powers of Wealth, of Public Authority, and of Intellect are related to each other in such wise that the baser power is subordinated to the higher one; and since intellect represents the highest quality of work of which man is capable, it is the highest in the ladder. In sum, the sordid ambition for wealth must be subordinated to the ambition for power of State authority, and the latter to the ambition for honour arising out of legislative powers. There can be no State or society possible without these three orders or "classes": that of the wealth-producing, that of the State executive and then State legislature. We have left out the fourth order, *i.e.*, the much condemned "Shudra" or the wage-earning class. They occupy the lowest grade as regards Power, simply because the labouring power, both mental and physical, is sold to the capitalist or wealth-producing class. The distinction lies not in anything derogatory in manual labour—indeed all labour must be sacred and the most worthy of respect, that which is devoted to the service of the community—neither it lies in the fact that it may be less highly paid than the salaried offices of public services—indeed, on the contrary, private employees like managers of private firms, or engineers, or opera-dancers draw fabulous salaries. The distinction lies in respect of, what the Roman Jurists styled, their character, *sui juris*

(independent) and *alieni juris* (dependent upon others). Indeed, the highest power of the worker, that of the Intellect, becomes the first in order in our scale of social power when it is not employed as even in the second order—that of the executive ranks of the State, but is lifted to the highest ranks of disinterested service, that belonging to the holy order of the Legislature and that too not deriving its authority from any so-called supreme will of the people, but deriving its warrant of authority from the highest truth and the highest Law revealed in man.

The second principle is the application of the Law of Sacrifice within each rank, which should signify, that the wealthiest producers should not only allow themselves to be taxed for the support of the State, or the sustenance of the poor and the weaklings of the race, but should also gladly succumb to any checks applied by the State for the protection of the weaker producer. Similarly, the highest salaried servants of the State should allow reduction in their salaries above a certain limit, say that of an average-comfort-wage, so as to maximise the happiness of the humbler servants of the State; similarly, for the highest order, that of the legislature, the highest virtue of self-renunciation and a lofty sense of duty for the service of the country is desirable.

Speaking generally, no single individual or class may tax the community with impunity, or drive a reckless bargain against the common welfare, without making oneself liable to make compensation for the least of one's overdrawn share, and then also having to pay over with compound interest!

Just because in the present system the money-power as well as the political power is concentrated in one and the same hand, that termed the possessing or capitalist class, the all-mighty Dollar becomes the *summum bonum* of our life, which is no longer inspired by any high ethical

conception of social justice in which an oriental so persistingly pins his faith in spite of the inequalities of possession which he all the same maintains outwardly. He, in order to affirm his faith from time to time in his ethical conception of life, would often renunciate all his wealth and possessions, it is his so-called sacrifice on the altar of truth for real self-purification of the spirit. In the East the rich man meets the poor man with no obsessions and embarrassments arising out of class formalities and conventions, but as fellow-brothers partaking of the same communion of thought and ethical conception according to which wealth and possessions are things of the moment and as such to be looked down upon and utterly disregarded, so that the poor man trusts himself absolutely in the hands of the rich man for dealing with him fairly; and as both forget their unequal standards of living, there is perfect amity of feeling, and an understanding of each other's viewpoints, and hence a completer approachment to truth, since both subscribe to the same common code of ethical standards of fair wages, fair profits, fair standards of living, which each one ensures for the other. It is a special tradition of the East to inculcate a deep conviction in the virtue of being, what they call, right-minded or fair-minded above every thing and at all costs. We shall speak of one more bright jewel in the genius of the East, which is the universal application of the Law of the Golden Mean, as contrasted with the more logical mind of the West, always tending to carry conclusions to either extremes—for instance, either to think of the pain-economy or pleasure-economy; either to think of being thrown on natural subsistence by being reduced to first principles of living, or to indulge in sensuous and riotous luxuries; either of perfect equality like that of the Bolshevik Russia, or greatest and endless inequalities. To the oriental, however, the right means the "rectus" or the golden mean

—for instance, living of life near to nature is encouraged, yet not too near; a marvellous simplicity in production exists uptil today in the handicraft arts and industries, yet producing the best specimen of art and the most comfortable equipments of life that machinery has yet produced; keeping trade and production free and open for private competition, yet enjoining production on a scale above a certain limit by the community or the guild; again allowing interest as justifiable income, but prohibiting not only usury but also its permanence; again allowing the State to exist but decentralising its machinery of Government by instituting autonomous village communities, similarly within the village community laying two important intermediate landmarks between the community and the individual—that of the trade-guild and the joint-family; and so on and so forth. We can multiply any number of instances of this special genius of the East to fix the two limits between which a sane, normal, healthy development of man and human institutions can best take place—in short, instead of carrying individualism or utilitarianism too far as is the chronic malady of the present day, the East has *applied communistic principles to individualism*, which is the same thing as counteracting the lower nature by giving touches of idealism of the higher.

We shall certainly examine some of these age-old institutions of the East in terms of modern utilities, but before we do so we shall guard against any misunderstanding of our account as being exaggerated or one-sided in extolling the importance of certain defunct and decaying institutions that have so far failed to stand the new forces of rank individualism and are, more or less, doomed for two main reasons. Firstly, since the institutions were not energized with active principles of conscious thought and understanding they had inherited the place of dead dogma;

secondly, the sudden boom of the glories of the Industrial Revolution with all its glitter of tinsel and flimsy manufacture came down too soon upon the Eastern consciousness to find time to revaluate things by its own standards. Let us hope that just as the Western science has given a shock to the age-long mental torpor of the East, that so long slumbered on the high altitudes of a self-satisfied self-complacency born of a rich and glorious inheritance, the rejuvenated East will in its turn point the true solution to the West, which lies not in coal and iron values, but in values that are human.

PART II. THE NEED FOR SOCIALISTIC CHECKS.

(i) THE CHIMERA OF PRODUCTIVE EFFICIENCY.

" Aggressive self-assertion and exploitation cannot be prevented when the bond between man and man, and between classes, is purely economic; this in a society which would still worship the fetich of efficiency and accept competition and the literal struggle for existence as the method of progress."—Dr. R. K. Mukerjee (*Ples. of Comp. Econ.*, Vol. I, p. 294).

Ours is a self-moving, self-working system guided by the forces of Supply and Demand, or in other words, self-interest. We have trusted ourselves and our communal welfare to the care of such a ' natural ' system in the fond hope that this will lead to progress and inventions in the arts of production and would thereby enrich all of us, while no regulation whatever of the present distribution of the wealth of the world could make any appreciable difference in the incomes of the poor. " It would be like spreading a mountain over a vast plain," such is the purport of the warnings given by the economists of the conventional school (Pareto's law being an instance of it). We are therefore advised not to interfere with the institution of private ownership of property, which is upheld as sacred, but to confine our attempts to remedy the evils of poverty by piously pinning our faith in the noblest cult of " putting two and two together to make four." But as a consequence of this preaching, the fever of production is sapping away more life than giving life, has made life most unnatural for a vast majority of mankind, and thus resulted in a *disorderly* progress, if it may still be called progress. Even supposing for a while that the people had been very much enriched owing to indus-

trial progress, but they were still backward in social arts, or had forgotten the art of living and loving as men should do in accordance with principles of justice and equity and criteria of ethical standards, their life would still be barren, and none the happier for such a progress and enrichment. In fact, just as exploitation, whatever its form or nature must be incompatible with justice, so must any monopoly, of whatever kind, be incompatible with progress; since there can be no exploitation without some kind of monopoly, and likewise no progress in the absence of perfect justice.

Now, howsoever you may view the present system you cannot escape noticing that it is based on monopoly interests over certain labour units employed either on land or other capital. The monopolistic right of ownership over the instruments of production which confers a title upon the capitalistic owners to derive their incomes in the form of interest yielded in perpetuity, is a grossest kind of injustice, against which human conscience must ever revolt. Firstly, all the benefits accruing from the multiplying-function of the machinery-plant and of a concerted organisation of labour, which are both the product of the inventive genius of the race and hence a common heritage of mankind, are derived by the capitalist owners thereof exclusively, and thereafter monopolistically since the claim to derive such benefits becomes perpetual. It is, to put it in plain, unvarnished language, the case of one man deriving title to all the future gains accruing from another man's labour employed under the guise of a free wage-contract on either natural or artificial capital, the latter at any rate being the product of a third man's labour and a fourth man's inventive genius. While in the pre-machinery era, for instance, taking the history of England, since after the Elizabethan age, all forms of individual monopolies granted by the crown, whether in natural capital, such as royalties

of mines, or special trade privileges or rights of patenting of any inventions, were resented so much by the public conscience that they had to be ultimately checked to a great extent in theory at least, still, however, in the wake of Industrial Revolution, the same monopolies revived in a far more potent, because subtler form, through the stratification of a new class of industrial pioneers—call it the capitalist or the bourgeoisie class. Further industrial progress and invention which should have been a counter-check of individual monopoly proved to be instead a source of further strengthening of the class monopoly.[1]

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[1] While we refer to class monopoly, we hope, we shall not be subjected to the same criticism to which Karl Marx was subjected by the "Conventional" economists for having made generalisations, like the one that, 'there were concentrative tendencies in all modern industries.' We are quite prepared to recognise exceptions, but still we submit that the Marxian laws and for the matter of that, all scientific generalisations and even the definitions of terms or the sense in which we use them, are true only within *certain* (and generally large) limits. It is no satisfactory answer to say that there is no class monopoly since there is nowhere exact and clear line of demarcation between the capitalist and non-capitalist classes, since there is a most gradual merging of the higher class into the one lower; or because there is visible a steady and constant rise from the lower rank into the higher which infuses fresh energy and life into the upper ranks. To the latter argument we shall suffice to say: It is human to demand such colossal sacrifices as some of us frantically make in order to be lifted up into the upper ranks of the capitalist class? Does not such competition turn brutes out of the best of us mortal men? Even if it be conceded that only the healthiest type does survive and win, the qualities required for such a success are certainly not always of the best kind; and, then, what of those "miserable wretches"—the many, out of whose failures all the successes of the "blessed few" are built up, those doomed to lives worse than in purgatory! However, it will be interesting to follow up this note on a rather controversial point with a rather pungent, but none the less pertinent, description of the 'Class Rule' from the pen of A. Emil Davies, *The Case For Nationalization* (Allen and Unwin), 1920 Ed., p. 36.

In the mediæval period the only capital which offered any great scope for investment, was the land-capital; and the institution of landlordism, which means in other words, the monopolistic right of ownership in land-capital was then justifiable on grounds of other early utilities which it rendered, such as leading to a stabilisation of society, since, then, the manorial lords guaranteed the protection of their peasantry. We have now no such reason to justify ourselves except the historical argument of "First conquest in the struggle of life," which may be otherwise called monopoly.[1]

Indeed, no free-born and honourable person ought to

"A political and industrial 'Who's Who' showing relationship by blood-marriage, would reveal the fact that the country is governed by a number of dynasties, each of which has one branch in the Government—either in the cabinet, parliament, or public departments—and one branch seated in the saddle in industry, as directors of the great banking, insurance, shipping and industrial undertakings of the country. Sometimes the two functions are combined, and if your industrial magnate goes into the Government and is therefore compelled to relinquish his chairmanship or directorship of a great private undertaking, the post is kept warm for him, should he unfortunately lose office (in which event his relative in the Opposition will probably take his place) and in any case he and his family retain that large share interest. It is expecting too much from human nature that such men should act in a manner contrary to the interests of themselves, their relations, and class. . . ."

[1] See Prof. Taussig, *Ples of Econ.*, Vol. II, p. 168: "There was a tradition in older days that new-made wealth did not remain long in the family. It was said to be but three generations from shirt sleeves to shirt sleeves. No such generalization would be tenable to-day. The machinery for safely investing and keeping accumulated property is highly developed, and is at any one's command. They who once possess can continue to hold, and persons who have been lifted among the soft-handed classes cling to their place with extraordinary tenacity. While there is a continuous movement upward,—not great in volume, but steady and considerable,—there is no appreciable movement downward."

be permitted to sell his or her labour to another on a precarious wage determined by the forces of Supply and Demand and irrespective of the consideration of any profit-sharing in the fruits of that labour after being multiplied by the dead stock of the multiplying-capital belonging to another. In the East, speaking in terms of the Indo-Aryan polity, that would be the work assigned to the much-condemned and looked-down-upon "Shudra" class of society, and no twice-born person of the upper three classes may participate in such a work involving the status of *alieni juris* (dependent upon others). In the present age we have reduced about 80 per cent. of human population to such a low status of a precarious wage-earning class, and hence all the multifarious ills and evils in the present-day society. The day of redemption from this far subtler form of slavery will dawn upon our society, when the labouring class would refuse to work on the capital of others until it were presumed to be lent out to them and subject to its price being paid up out of the profits accruing therefrom to the capitalist-owners of it together with their due interest on the same, when ultimately, on a transference of ownership being completed, the title of ownership would be vested in the State.[1]

The labourers of to-day, rightly called the wage-slaves, are indeed hardly better than slaves of old—for the stability and security of the slave was guaranteed by his master, or even in Feudalism of the yeoman or the villein

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[1] Here we are reminded of J. S. Mill's view:—"The form of association, however, which, *if mankind continue to improve*, must be expected in the end to predominate, is not that which can exist between a capitalist as chief and workpeople without a voice in the management, but the association of the labourers themselves on *terms of equality, collectively owning the capital* with which they carry on their operations, and working under managers elected and removable by themselves."

by the Lord of the Manor,[1] but nowadays there are only class sympathies in spite of the game of unstable equilibrium in industrial large scale production in which the capitalists alone can afford to speculate and gamble. As aptly put by Leo Tolstoy: "People abolished slavery and the right of owning slaves, but they continued changing their linen unnecessarily, and living in ten rooms and having five courses at dinner, and carriages, etc. And, yes, all these things could not be if there were no slaves. This is perfectly clear, and yet nobody can see it." The unemployment problem, so much forced on our attention nowadays, is not really that of lack of employment but insecurity of employment. Security and stability are far more conducive to human happiness than any other factor, is particularly true of the unprovided lowest class of labour. Did the present system increase it, or did it increase pauperism? The fact remains that the system is based on monopoly, exploitation and Force as implied in the Law of Economic Determinism, not to say of militarism. Even the present-day governments are for the best part living on Force, merely eking out their existence and barely justifying their position, growing as it is more and more untenable for them every day to respond in any degree compatible to the growing needs of the society. Again, inequality of possession,

[1] Cf. H. O. Meredith, *Economic History of England*, p. 83. "A tolerably clear connection can be traced between the development of the 'free labourer' (wage slave) and the growth of the population of pauperism. As was seen earlier, the manorial system provided a degree of discipline for the masses for which the latter statutory regulations were an imperfect substitute. In the mediæval towns, at least in the larger ones, there was probably always a substratum of miserably-paid casual labour, but a large proportion of the population consisted of organised traders and craftsmen who had individually some reserve of wealth, and collectively funds for the relief of the unfortunate. The situation was altered greatly by the break-up of the manorial system, and the growing dependence of craftsmen on merchant capitalists."

leading also to an inequality of opportunities, would have to justify itself, otherwise it would lead sooner or later to a revolt of human conscience. Do the riches of a man prove his best usefulness to society? Is property the basis or criterion of utility? Are the riches and property destroyed quickly by their socially injurious application? How is natural evolution to work out itself and along what lines? Mere faith would not do. Laissez-faire led to strongest combinations in production, has this policy of favouring the strongest producer been productive of maximum happiness? " Free Competition and Cheapness ": they are to-day the two declared enemies of mankind instead of proving blessings! The solution of the present-day ills of society lay not in catch-phrases, or party-slogans, neither in part-glimpses of the truth, but in taking the broadest compass of a view of the whole truth!

Our present thesis is, however, to show that the blind forces of Supply and Demand, or the Cost theory of price-regulation, or the establishing of the economic equilibria at the margins, all these fine abstract concepts of the Mathematical school of Economics have their limitations, also involve some or other injustices which require to be indemnified, and above all, they need to be supplemented by certain Socialistic checks to be supplied as determined by a rational discrimination exercised consciously by the will of the community in the interest of the community.[1]

[1] For a fuller treatment of all the limitations of the individualistic philosophy of " self-interest " or " free competition," we would recommend to the reader an excellent article entitled " *The Ethics of Competition* " by Frank H. Knight, of the University of Iowa, contributed to the August 1923 number of the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Cambridge, Mass. He is right when he says that up till now the economists had been occupied with practical problems of public administration or mathematical treatment of economic science, but they had not so far examined the wide

Let us first proceed to examine the nature of the strongest argument advanced in favour of the present system—that of productive efficiency. It is immaterial for our purposes to discuss whether self-interest led to progress or invention in the industrial arts, or *vice versa*, although it is a remarkable saying that "Industrial Revolution was the work of half a dozen men." Of course, we may be concerned to know whether, and how far, self-interest would lead to further efficiency and further improvement in art. Our answer to this, the strongest argument advanced on behalf of rank individualism, would be to judge in the light of what it has done by way of providing human population not only with a larger supply of consumable luxuries, but with regard to the most vital provision, that of the prime necessary of existence; the land produce of corn, for example? We do not take into consideration a wrong distribution or unnatural grouping of populations brought about by this system, for instance, England receives her supply of corn perhaps in greater plenty through her shipping than the very country which raises it? We shall also not take into account either the fact of a far more extensive area brought under cultivation, or a more intensive agriculture done as a result of improvement by scientific methods. We cannot attribute these phenomena in any special degree to the play of self-interest, since they have arisen by the compelling necessity of the situation—the so-called pressure of population. The real criterion to fix the problem would be, whether as a result of this progress in arts, foodstuffs are any cheaper than before in proportion to the wages or the money

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implications involved in the simplest argument of individualism, that of a "freely competitive organisation of society." In his words, "A clear formulation of the postulates of theoretical individualism will bring out the contrast with practical *laissez-faire*, and go far to discredit the latter as a policy."

incomes of the lowest grade of the labouring classes.[1] To put for once in terms of common economic knowledge, we would contend that, judging from the principle of maximum happiness, to a starving man, not to say of a class of men, the utility of a single morsel of food is practically infinite and would far outweigh all the grand total of consumers' surpluses derived from all the other comfortable products of industry put together by the rest of the community. Here are the facts. See the figures for the increase in pauperism in any old country. For instance, in England their number has increased by 2 per cent in each decade and has now reached a portentous figure of 10 per cent of the population. Add to this incalculable misery that of the growing number of the so-called unemployed, and then one can realize the magnitude of the evil brought in by the silent-grinding mill of capitalism, and industrial democracy. Let us, however, adduce some more proof of the chronic state of increasing pauperism in England. Here are Dr. Bowley's pre-war figures as quoted by Prof. Pigou (vide *Wealth and Welfare*):

" In a table of incomes of wage-earners only for 1911, 4 per cent of the whole population (*i.e.*, 320,000 men) are shown to earn a wage under 15s. and 8 per cent of the population (*i.e.*, 640,000 men) a wage between 15s. to 20s. Again, based on Dr. Bowley's study of the conditions of life in four principal industrial towns of England, we have the following figures: ' Together these towns embrace about 2,150 working-class households and 9,720 persons. Of these households 295 or 13½ per cent of these persons 1,567 or 16 per cent are living in a condition of

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[1] For periods dating from the first beginnings of Industrial Revolution in England until its full advent, we have on good authority (see *Meredith's Econ. Hist. of England*, p. 350):—

" A glance at Chart B shows that a day's wages, measured by the quantity of wheat which they would purchase, were greater for both skilled and unskilled labour between 1440 and 1490 than at any subsequent period until the past half century."

primary poverty,' *i.e.*, with income not even sufficient for bare subsistence. 'Out of 3,287 children . . . . 879 or 27 per cent are living in families which fail to reach the low standard taken as necessary for healthy existence.' Again, under distribution of incomes for the whole country, we have a characteristic disparity evident on the face of it, when 2 per cent of the population receive ¼th of the national income and 11 per cent receive ½ of the national income. 'The remaining of it, a little more than half, was left to be shared among small independent workers and salary-receivers earning less than £160 a year and practically the whole body of wage-earners.'

The comparative figures of incomes for another old country, Prussia, for the two years 1892 and 1913 would show that in the lowest grade of labour, that earning a bare living wage or less than that (*i.e.*, having an income less than about 52 rupees p.m. or £1 per week) there were, in 1892, 78·18 per cent of people, while 41·21 per cent of the total income of the country came to that class; whereas in the year 1913, there were 52·49 per cent of the people sharing between them only 18·23 per cent of the total income—the total National Income or the National Dividend having doubled during these two decades.

In the next higher grade of labour, *i.e.*, that earning from Rs. 50 to Rs. 150 p.m. or £1 to £3 approximately, the percentage of population was 18·98 in 1892 and 42·12 in 1913, whereas the percentage of total National Dividend coming to this class was 30·01 per cent in 1892 and 46·25 per cent, in 1913.

In the upper middle class, again, *i.e.*, that having an income of Rs. 150 to Rs. 450 p.m. per head, or £3 to £9 approximately per head, the percentage of population was 2·33 per cent in 1892 and 4·53 per cent in 1913; whereas the percentage of the National Dividend coming to the class was 12·83 per cent in 1892 and 15·84 per cent in 1913.

Lastly, in the ranks of the capitalist class, the percentage of population was ·5 per cent in 1892 and ·86 per cent in 1913; while the percentage of the National Divid-

end coming to that class was about 16 per cent. in 1892 and about 20 per cent in 1913. (Statement compiled from figures quoted in *Outlines of Econ.* by Prof. R. T. Ely and others, Macmillan, 3rd Ed., p. 546.)

In the light of the figures the authors, Prof. Ely and others have drawn two broad conclusions; (1) that "the fruits of economic progress have not been confined to a single class, but have been shared by the masses, and (2) a surprisingly large section of the population is still in poverty." Now even if it may be conceded that a larger middle class with a higher standard of comfort has emerged out under the present capitalistic system, we must at any rate make due allowance for two factors that have brought about a change in the conditions of life of the labouring class (1) as a result of selling that labour in the labour market and having to work in the factories instead of working as members of an independent artisan class in the more wholesome environments of their homes; (2) an unduly great nervous strain caused by super-efficiency demanded in a competitive career and more especially in the unnatural and crowded conditions of city life.

Our criticism of the capitalistic stratification of classes has, in fact, nothing to do with the Marxian theory of "concentrated tendencies in the accumulation of wealth." It has been based on a comparison of the conditions of life in the pre-machinery era or the mediæval periods and the present age, and for a brief reference to our views on the subject the following paragraph is quoted from the preface of *The Labour Problem*, pp. x-xi :—

"From the above, however, we would not mean to be understood that there is any implied assertion, such as, that there was any better standard of humanity shown in the older pre-machinery processes of employment of labour. But the difference lies in this, that whilst the 'consumptive' employment of labour must always be guided by the social customs, the productive employment of labour was not then so extensive as in large-scale production of

the present-day. Hence, there were fewer such dependents as of the modern type owing to the simplicity of instruments of production, and besides, without doubt, whatever else, they lived nearer to nature and their own native-village atmosphere than could be possible in the most unnatural conditions of the modern city-life. Our aim must be that the greatest number possible should participate (equally in comforts of life) and that was true of the pre-machinery day, leaving very few cases of exploited labour at one end, and the other extreme of the handfuls of tyrannising aristocracy based on divine right. But to-day the greatest number has been precipitated down to the persecuted ranks of the modern 'productive' labour, whilst the fold of the higher extreme has also greatly widened out—thus leaving the golden mean of an average middle class man in a most precarious condition of unstable equilibrium, so that instead of forming a happy majority he is pulled in opposite ways by the wire-pulling processes of the modern system: sometimes licked and favoured by the beaming smiles of an aristocrat, and the very next moment threatened to be stranded down to the wretched ranks of common labour and thus finding it too difficult to keep on the coat of respectability intact, he is always living from hand to mouth. Such is the 'contented' lot of the average majority!"

Surely such a middle class as the modern system may create for the nation is no good asset, nor a good substitute for the old majority of labouring class with a lower standard of comfort, but all the same enjoining more natural living and certainly more leisurely and care-free lives—because, not only insecurity of living under the competitive system but also great inequalities of wealth and possessions are not a little source of worry and mental discomfort to the bottom grade labourers as well as the newly-emerging class of the so-called middle class.

Were it not for this wretched pauperism bred by our system we would have gone so far as to call it a veritable heaven on earth! But our judgment as to the standard of necessaries is a very flexible thing, indeed, in our imagination : for when we think of ourselves it rises at once very high as no doubt for one favourably situated in the upper strata of the leisured class it ought to be, while

as we eye the commonest labourer from a distance, it at once comes down to the very lowest starvation point !

Now we proceed to answer the second point raised, that is, as to the future prospect held out by this system to remedy this great evil of unprovided or insufficiently provided labourer. What is the mechanism itself, let us see, for the application of capital on land? Beyond a certain point further investment on land stops because it no longer pays the capitalist to do so, he cannot raise his interest from it. And where is the interest to come from? Surely from the impoverished major circle comprised of the labourers, since to add to the pity of it, the increase in population takes place in the major circle, the wrong end. We would here quote a few remarks from our book (*Ibid.*, p. 49):—

"The prices would not come down so long as interest has to be paid on the newly-invested capital and hence it is that we may notice that as population increases the prices would always go up and up, of course leading inevitably to the consequence that the labouring class must suffer, starve and perish, while the capitalist should flourish as ever before. Does that not necessitate a redistribution of money by whatever means it may be done, so that interest could be drawn from the major circle? Must we not open our eyes to the fact that poverty and want are forced on the hand of the labouring class for no fault of theirs—while land can certainly produce more—excepting of course that they are capitalless? And when in spite of themselves they are stranded down as beggars having to seek the crumbs fallen from the tables of capitalists, we are to learn from books on Political Economy that charity or alms-giving as going to support unproductive labour is a wasteful 'luxury,' and so the poor beggars are discarded everywhere as so much burden on society. The society can tolerate all other luxuries afforded by its benign capitalist-class, but the 'luxury' of supporting human life itself is at any rate intolerable. Is not the capitalist also a case of unproductive labour?, would perhaps require extraordinary courage to be told, and no wonder in our civilized era!"

The pursuit of profits being the sole motive for an extension of production in the various industries, we may

notice as a result of it how production proceeds on in a most chaotic manner. Every student of Economics is too well familiar with that fell disease of our competitive system, technically called ' the Industrial Crisis ' of which the periodically recurring visitations are like earthquake shocks to our industrial world and they are now regarded as a necessary evil meant to cure a greater evil, that of maladjustment of the forces of production and consumption to which the present-day chaotic race for profits inevitably leads. During such crises we know how the productive forces of the nation are paralyzed, as it were, with the demon of destruction striking down mighty blows to which not infrequently even respectable business houses fall victims. The general trade depression results in unemployment on a large scale, which further intensifies the evil ; since by the curtailment of the effective demand or purchasing power of the labouring class, the plethora of manufactured products created for them—and, indeed, by themselves, being employed in a ' chaotic manner ' on our wonder-working modern machinery, cannot be disposed of even at greatly reduced and unremunerative prices. And now we may question that, if such be admittedly the case in manufacturing industries in which large-scale production can be possible and production ought, therefore, to be adapted and adjusted much quickly, what indeed should one expect in the agricultural industry whose production is both long and uncertain, as well as not admitting of large scale methods very largely? How far can it be actually possible under such circumstances that the production in agriculture may go on at the highest efficiency standard or the maximum investment point even during periods of ' boom ' or general prosperity in trade under the stimulus of rising prices consequent upon an increased effective demand of the labouring class when it is largely employed, and again how far does it adapt itself to periods

of curtailed demand, such as of trade depression and unemployment—which follow in a cyclic order? More technically speaking, does the 'margin of cultivation' actually 'descend' in the first instance and 'ascend' in the second? The truth of the matter seems to be that it cannot and does not adapt itself to the changing needs of the community on any very large scale, at any rate, and the brunt of the evil is suffered either by the 'marginal producer' or the 'marginal consumer,' while it is absolutely impossible to expect that at any time the natural productive forces may be most efficiently harnessed or, in other words, the highest possible investment point is ever reached under the present system in agricultural industry—not to say of that large class of labour which is always below the margin of effective demand even in respect of agricultural produce.[1]

[1] Should we cite, in order to bear further conviction on the point, an eminent authority of the conventional school of Economics, then, here is the economics of the case by which investment is determined in any productive industry, not to say of land which is governed by the law of Diminishing Return, in the pregnant words of Professor Taussig (*Ples of Econ.*, Vol. II, pp. 47-48):—

". . . Saving and investment simply mean the employment of labour in a different way.

"Before long, however, the plant and machinery must be used; that is, turned to making more consumable things. What sort of consumable things will be in demand? Not such as are adapted to the demands of investors and savers (presumably, the well-to-do). These, by supposition, no longer buy for enjoyment; at all events they reduce such expenditure to the minimum. The labourers, however, have passed no self-denying ordinance. For commodities adapted to their needs there is an unlimited market. To be sure, in order to induce purchase, things must be of the sort they fancy. But there is no difficulty in disposing of goods of this sort, offered cheap enough.

". . . The essence of the process of capitalistic investment is that advances are constantly being made to labourers, and that the labourers are constantly producing more than has been turned over to them. The supposed increase in savings and the decline

Now suppose we are asked what we should propose as its alternative to bring relief to the situation? Well, we should think, there is the Law of Sacrifice to answer our purpose best, for does it not teach us to counteract the evil of diminishing return from land by investing more and more capital on it regardless of the rate of interest otherwise derivable from it. Since the capitalists would not willingly sacrifice their interest, let the higher will of the community assert itself through the strong arm of the Government to have the community invest that much-needed capital on land until the desired level of prices of foodstuffs is reached. Without successfully completing the *Cycle of Productivity* connecting industry to agriculture no other solution could result. This very principle must be the fundamental of all our principles of taxation that the taxes levied on the various industries should be heavier according as a certain industry is more remote from agriculture, and the best utilisation of those public taxes should be considered when they are invested on land —thus completing the cycle of productivity. It is again on this ground that the " benefit theory " of taxation is

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in luxurious expenditure bring it about that greater amounts are being paid to labourers than before. To put it in another way; before the process begins, part of the labourers are engaged in making commodities for the capitalists' consumption, and part for the consumption of the labourers themselves. After the process is completed, all the labourers (or virtually all) are engaged in making goods for each other, and none (or only a few) are engaged in making goods for capitalists. Then the labourers will be consuming more than they reproduce, and no return to capital can emerge.

" . . . . As interest fell, more and more of the well-to-do would conclude they might as well spend as invest; would buy houses, pictures, automobiles, champagne, and would cause labour to turn to making such things. A balance would in due time be restored, by the making of less goods for labourers' consumption and by the return of profit and interest in all branches of production."

to be discarded and it needs to be finally taken for granted that the real theory of taxation lies in its being a practical application of the general Law of Sacrifice. The right solution of the problem of pauperism would, therefore, be—(1) to help the marginal agricultural producer by means of investment made on his land by the State; (2) also to help the marginal consumer of land produce of corn, *i.e.*, the lowest grade of labour by guaranteeing to it an adequate minimum wage.[1]

[1] The importance of the minimum wage would be borne out by the following words of Professor Cassell (*Theory of Interest*, Macmillan, p. 77) :—

"It was one of the most disastrous fallacies of the old theory that free competition would be enough to secure the different degrees of labour such wages as would cover the cost of production of that labour. Modern social policy recognises that it is not, and therefore steadily looks out for new methods, such as, *e.g.*, the fixed minimum wage by which to realise the ideal of the cost principle as regards the lowest ranks of labour."

If another high authority of the conventional school of Economics were needed to support the proposition, we might quote again from Prof. Ely, *Outlines of Economics*, p. 552:—

"If we take the view that something can be done to lessen the extreme inequality in wealth distribution that exists at the present time, it is necessary to formulate some programme of social reform. In framing such a programme it must be remembered, on the one hand, that the right of private property is not an absolute right. No one has a vested interest in that institution, and we are at liberty to make such modification in the institution as will contribute to the social welfare. For the present the measures here advocated are not in the slightest danger of being carried so far as to discourage that wealth-getting ambition which is considered by many to be essential to progress."

And, further on, one of the safe suggestions offered by the learned authors is (p. 554) :—

"If businessmen and political leaders ever become as much interested in the problems of unemployment as in tariff reform, we may expect that productive use will be found for the unemployed so far as they are employable, and if this proves impracticable, we shall recognise that if society cannot offer a willing and able man an opportunity to work, it must give him a vacation with pay."

Hence, these two socialistic checks would secure a sufficient investment of capital on land thus inaugurate an age of veritable Millennium, such as pictured in the following words quoted from our book (*ibid.*, p. 46):—

" To fully realise the truth of this statement, we might stretch the picture in our imagination that if by any means all the machinery could be internationalized, then if all the H.P.s of the world were put to the soil of India and China alone, and scientific agriculture carried on under improved methods and scientific advice these two countries alone would suffice to be the granaries of the world. There was a real millennium known to old Indian polity of not very long time back when all the necessaries of life were in such good plenty that it was sufficient that any one male member of the largest joint family could earn, which would amply suffice for all the rest. But to what plight are we reduced now in this age of free competition—that every one from the child of eight upward must be an earning hand, and labour automatically like a machine itself all day and night to get a lift in life and yet to what end—struggling endlessly to keep body and soul together. Of course, conditions are abnormal in India under the alien rule of a worst capitalistic Imperialism; but pauperism is more or less the same in all its hideous aspects all the world over."

From another place (pp. 112-113):—

" And since the economical and ethical conditions have very much changed from what they were in the pre-machinery era, what we want is to apply such suitable safe-guards as would ensure our obtaining the same state of ' plenty and prosperity ' without having to go back upon our new outlook on life, created by—firstly, that we do not want the old simple life but want ' luxuries ' too; secondly, consistent with the new aspect of the enormous increase in human population.

" The standard of ' plenty and prosperity ' which the Government of a country must secure at all cost must be judged by the following acid-tests:—

(1) There should not be a single case of unemployed labour.
(2) The minimum daily wage must suffice to support at least a family of ten members (since an ordinary farmer with his primitive tools could raise enough to support as many) amply as regards food and other prime necessaries—the labouring time being not more than six hours a day.

(3) The food must be so cheaply available as to require almost no labour, hence the greatest possible investment on land by the most improved methods must be secured.
(4) The minimum wage should go on increasing and the prices should go on falling, even with the increase in population.
(5) The land taxes must be the least, the very, very least."

In concluding this point we shall leave it to our readers to decide the moot question with which we started, as to whether self-interest added more to efficiency of production, or that it had its limits, and beyond those limits it required to be complimented by gratuitous and disinterested services rendered with the highest sense of duty in the broader interest of the community in order to be more productive of utility, we hope the question is answered.[1]

Now as we have seen from theoretical considerations how the present capitalistic system is ultimately bound to fail in providing the entire human population with any degree of sufficiency of the earth produce of food-stuffs, let us also notice why the gain from all the so-called triumphs of Industrial Revolution has profited us so little. It will suffice for our purpose to quote a few extracts taken from an excellent statement made on the subject by a famous economist of the Christian School, C. S. Devas (*Pol. Econ.*, *Stonyhurst Philosophical Series*) :—

"We are now confronted with the very serious question why after such a brilliant advance we are not better off, why so many

[1] We may again do well to elicit the authority of a "conventional" economist, Marshall, *Ples. of Econ.*, p. 242:—

"The struggle for survival may fail to bring into existence organisms that would be highly beneficial. . . . . This seems a hard truth: but some of its hardest features are softened down by the fact that those races, whose members render services to one another without exacting direct recompense are not only the most likely to flourish for the time, but most likely to rear a large number of descendants who inherit their beneficial habits."

are hard-worked, ill-clad, and ill-housed, so many tens of thousands of people even in Great Britain are bowed down with abject poverty, and if we reckon our subject countries, so many tens of millions. And the question is all the more striking when we remember the profound peace which has prevailed in the Empire with little serious interruption for the greater part of a century. For if we compare societies which without a technical revolution have enjoyed for a long time a similar political tranquillity, for example the Roman Empire at the accession of Commodus, the dominions ot the King of France at the death of St. Louis, or the German Empire at the accession of Maximilian I., the objects of enjoyment in those societies seem little if at all inferior to our own. . . . . But then if that extreme misery were removed, nay, if all the national wealth were equally distributed, even then, apart from other difficulties, the difficulty before us would not be met, for each man's wealth would be little, if any, more than the average enjoyed by the masses in those other periods of prosperity; and we should think in vain for that great well-being which those great technical triumphs had led us to expect. . . .

"The real explanation of the difficulty is two-fold, first that many of the grandest inventions really serve our welfare much less than they seem, and secondly, that many losses and injuries have fallen on us, some due to the Industrial Revolution itself, which this revolution has had to make up for. When the inventions have been duly appraised and the compensations duly allotted, we shall not be surprised that so little net gain is left over.

"These inventions have moreover given a tremendous impetus to misdirected production and misdirected consumption, and they have been the chief occasion of that concentration in great cities which is one of the gravest difficulties of our time, one greatest disadvantage compared with the past. Hence in this great department of invention there is much loss to be deducted from the gain."

We may cite figures of overcrowding in England as quoted from *The Observer*, 1st February, 1920, in *The Case for Nationalization*, by A. Emil Davies, p. 159:—

"It is common knowledge that one family in every eight in England have only one room as their home—one room in which the whole family has to live, sleep, eat, cook, wash, pray, suffer illness, face death, or endure the pangs and inconveniences surrounding birth."

The following are some of the interesting illustrations elicited by the learned economist which would give an idea of the economic waste going on in our society:—

"Misdirected production can extend from the earliest to the latest stages of the productive process, including alike the mistake of learning the wrong trade or function, growing the wrong crop, manufacturing the wrong goods, buying the wrong merchandise. Mistakes indeed will occur even where concert is simple; but no constant and great mistakes such as are seen in the world around us. Thus numerous bodies of men have habitually too much or too little to do, alternately out of work and over-worked; houses, roads, even railways are constructed, too many or of the wrong sort for the locality and are little used, while in other places there is a grievous want of them; and above all a multitude of goods liable to be spoilt or damaged by keeping, are in fact thus spoilt or damaged, because traders mistake the quantity they will sell. If nothing were made or procured but 'to order,' as in simple industrial organisations, such great losses would be avoided. . . . We see both in the retail and wholesale trade a wasteful movement of goods and men: vehicles both on the railways and the roads passing and repassing each other carrying identical goods, three-quarters of which movement could have been saved had the distribution been under single management. A familiar and daily example is the delivery of milk in our large towns.[1]

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[1] A few more lines to illustrate the "Wastefulness" of 'Competition' may be usefully reproduced here from that excellent book, *The Case for Nationalization* by A. Emil Davies (Allen & Unwin), p. 12:—

"This overlapping applies to bread, coal, and practically all the necessities of life, and so long as the fearful waste of human and animal life, labour and material goes on it is obvious that it has to be paid for by the community. When you pay for a loaf of bread or a pint of milk you are paying not only for the cost and upkeep of the cows, or for the materials of which the bread is composed, but also the wages of the thousands of men and women who are working unnecessarily on account of the supply being in the hands of thousands of different concerns. Small wonder, therefore, if hours of labour are wrong, and if the cost rises until many families cannot afford it. Be it milk, bread, or anything else; it is clear that a number of different dairies and bakeries, many of them not adequately equipped with modern plant, and overlapping one with the other, is wasteful; and the increased cost to

"Advertisement, taken in the widest sense, involves a tremendous waste. Thousands of keen-witted men are wholly employed as agents, canvassers, or commercial travellers in persuading people to buy from one firm rather than from another. Thousands of salesmen and shop assistants are wasting time and soiling conscience in persuading people to buy goods under more or less false pretences. And the sums spent on placards, circulars, and newspaper advertisements reach sometimes for a single firm the amount of £100,000 a year.

" . . . . Again, by forgetting the great fact of misdirected consumption, we are liable to look on changes in consumption as improvements when they are mere changes, or even changes for the worse. Thus the vast consumption of tea and sugar in England made possible by the Industrial Revolution, is undoubtedly a great change from the habits of one hundred and fifty years ago; but whether a change for the better is dubious; and the vast use of tinned provisions in the United States is probably a change for the worse. . . . ."

In sum, our inventions have only served to give an impetus to misdirected production and misdirected consumption, made competition and struggle of life more socially injurious than ever before, thus turning the engines of progress into the giants of steam and electricity hissing out fires of destruction far and near among the poorer ones of our fellow-brethren ! Such has been the chimera of productive efficiency, which has thrown society into a state of chaos and camouflage, of which our age is so proud ! Let us, however, close this account with the following indictment of the system from the pen of Thomas Kirkupp (*History of Socialism*, p. 410) :—

"The prevailing competitive system is to a large extent anarchy, and this is not an accident, but a necessity of its nature. This anarchy has two great and baneful modes of expression: strikes which are a form of industrial war, carrying misery and insecurity over large sections of population, and sometimes menacing the industrial and social life of a whole nation; and the

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the country on account of the wasteful distribution, wholesale as well as retail, amounts to such a figure per annum (which is as much wasted as if it were thrown into the street) as would astound any one."

commercial crises, which at times have had even a more disastrous influence, spreading like a storm over the entire civilised world, overthrowing honourable houses of business, and exposing to hopeless ruin and starvation millions of honest people who are in no wise responsible for their fate. . . .

"The phenomena of waste, which are always more or less a feature of the competitive system, are particularly manifest during the great industrial and commercial crises. Not only are the products of industry intended for consumption wasted, but the productive forces themselves, such as machinery and shipping, deteriorate, whilst great numbers of people are idle and starving."

Again from another place, p. 436:—

"In America the development of the trust system is only another proof of the inadequacy of the competitive system. . . . In short, we are driven to the result that while competition has been hurtful or ruinous to those engaged in it, the new prevailing system of regulation by capitalism in its own interests is a serious danger to the whole people. There is only one right way out of such a dilemma. A return to the competitive method is neither possible nor desirable. Monopoly is incompatible with freedom. The only course for peoples who desire to be free is to adopt some form of social ownership and control. This appears to be the lesson taught us by the development of the trusts."

Just to press home to our readers the truth contained in the above, we would cite a specific instance of the Standard Oil Trust of United States, which has allowed to exist unchallenged a most trenchant and scathing criticism of its methods of action in the book, *The Great Oil Octopus* by "Truth's" Investigator (Fisher Unwin, 1911). Here are some interesting exposures made in the book:—

(Pp. 13-14.) "The indictment against the Standard, put briefly, is that its founder, Mr. John D. Rockefeller, organised in 1870 a combination of American oil refiners, who then controlled less than 10 per cent of the refining business, and that he secured from the United States railroads secret rebates on the carriage of their oil, and even larger rebates on oil carried for their competitors. The result was that it became the interest of the railroads to discourage the shipments of oil by refiners outside the Trust. Armed with this weapon of the secret rebate, the Standard Oil

Trust was able to undersell its competitors and to force them to sell out at heavy loss. In ten years it had obtained by those methods the control of 90 per cent of the American oil refining business and being almost the sole buyer, it was able to dictate prices to the oil producers at the wells. It has since maintained its monopoly by elaborate espionage of its competitors' business, by running ostensibly "independent" oil companies to take advantage of the anti-Trust feeling and by obtaining up to the present day unfair railway discriminations in place of the secret rebate. It maintains an expensive staff of lobbyists at the Legislative Chambers of many lands, and it has constantly adopted the methods of bribery (direct and indirect) in dealing with politicians and publicists. It has always aimed, not at fair business competition, but at absolute monopoly."

(P. 48.) "On May 3, 1911—to bring the matter well down to date by a concrete instance—the United States Court of Appeal confirmed a decree of the Circuit Court of the Western District of New York State fining the Standard Oil Company $20,000 (£4,000) "for accepting concessions from the published rate of the Pennsylvania, Newyork Central, and Rutland Railroads in violation of Inter-State Commercial Law." But the fine, of course, is an ineffective flea-bite, and is only worth quoting to show that the iniquitous conspiracy of injustice and robbery entered into by the railroads and the Standard Oil Trust in 1872 still continues to baffle justice in America and to outrage the moral sense of the civilised world."

(ii) The Quality of the People.

In this article we shall take up the second and no less important question, would the play of self-interest, however sanely guided, reform human nature or evolve higher humanity? or was it itself the by-product of invention in material sciences, and as such it debased human ideals, threw religion into background and deadened and stultified the soul? About future, would it impede the evolution of human nature and how far would it be a stumbling block? In fact, the claim that human nature is not worse than before this system, proves nothing. Is it any better owing to the system? Perhaps it would have evolved in course of time without any change in system. Can there be any conscious marches possible instead of unconscious as owing their origin to divine urge or natural impulse? Then the very conception of social welfare will have to be changed from an objective to a subjective view of things. We are coming directly to it.

Did the present system evolve any better, stronger race —morally, mentally, physically, must be made the chief criterion, for by this system we have already sacrificed our 'all' in the name of the shibboleth of "individual freedom, individual development and individual rights"; and even upon this if we find now that that so much favoured individual is on the average no whit advanced in his intrinsic qualities, then pity be on such system! Judged from this standpoint the system stands self-condemned, for it did nothing more than add to our pleasures and hobbies of sense-stimulation, emulation, and satisfying curiosity. In fact, instead of even helping the course of natural survival of the healthiest type, it has, in this respect, protected a weaker man and helped him to abnormal satisfactions. As to whether it has given us more skilled workmen, that is, better trained hands, or

eyes, or judgments, or more inventiveness in general,—we should long hesitate to pass our verdict on comparing the same with the art of the handicraft artisans of the East. Indeed, let us keep in mind, in order to strike the solid core of things, the fact that while real inventiveness belongs to the very few, just as real initiatives in art in the previous era belonged to the very skilled of artisans, there is not much value to be attached to the skill of manipulating machines, or much credit due to the calculating forethought of a businessman imbued with the instinct of a barren self-interest, not to say of the incalculable toll of energy wasted in good deal of wistless and aimless thinking, worry and hurry of the modern rush of life. Why then condemn the sedate and simple life of old? Let us produce the testimony of a famous economist, Professor Pigou, who, while discussing (see p. 13, *Economics of Welfare*) the ethical value of a simple and contented man (termed by him non-economic welfare) and as to how far 'man is himself the end and the means,' quotes the following as coming from an Englishman writing on England:—

"By your works you may be known. Your triumphs in the mechanical arts are the obverse of your failure in all that calls for spiritual insight. Machines of every kind you can make and use to perfection; and you cannot build a house, or write a poem, or paint a picture; still less can you worship or aspire . . . Your outer man as well as inner is dead; you are blind and deaf. Ratiocination has taken the place of perception; and your life is an infinite syllogism from premises you have not examined to conclusions you have not anticipated or willed. Everywhere means, nowhere an end. Society a huge engine and that engine itself out of gear. Such is the picture your civilisation presents to my imagination."

The learned Professor further quotes another illuminating passage from Mr. Dawson's "*The Evolution of Modern Germany*" (pp. 15-16), although we cannot help remarking that it has helped the learned author not at all

as an eye-opener by leading him to depart from his econo-mism and examine further into, what he has termed, non-economic welfare. However, the passage runs:—

"We know what the old Germany gave the world, and for that gift the world will ever be grateful; we do not know what modern Germany, the Germany of the over-flowing barns and the full argosies, has to offer, beyond its materialistic Science and its merchandise . . . . The German systems of education, which are incomparable so far as their purpose is the production of scholars and teachers, or of officials and functionaires, to move the cranks, turn the screws, gear the pulleys, and oil the wheels of the complicated national machine, are far from being equally successful in the making of character or individuality."

There is again, to resume our subject, a very subtle fallacy made current by the protagonists of our current system, that as to an intellectual man needing a greater variety of pastimes and environments, and hence justifying a higher standard of living for the mental worker. We are ourselves at a loss to fathom out that peculiar trait in the psychology of the intellectual man, which marks him out for more varied pleasures, except perhaps his perverted imagination which has beguiled him from the habits of a natural and normal type of man, or perhaps by some twist of argument: since the fact that a variety of scenes stimulates and therefore develops thinking mind more than otherwise, is true, a general assumption tacitly follows from it that all kind of sense-stimulation by means of a sense-born art is synonymous with thought stimulation. We beg to submit that natural environments are the healthiest for best mental development as well as physical, and nothing more in the way of luxurious pastimes is needed except, so to say, the essential condition of healthy exchange of ideas, to which the facilities of the modern communications and the printing press have greatly contributed. We can, moreover, quote from the same authorities on conventional economics, that a certain

degree of healthy intellectual work is also most conducive to the well-being of our physical health. The production, then, of a man of such a normal harmonious development must be the ideal before the society, and in order that the society may support a maximum number of such persons, a higher limit will have to be fixed of what we have termed a "minimum comfort wage" or "average comfort wage."

We may next notice a very fruitful source of error into which Western thought so often grovels as an inevitable consequence of imperfectly-formed generalisations and rather childish abstractions carried to their extreme logical ends. Even a materialist would concede that 'man is a highly complex being' and within certain limits Western philosophy has to acknowledge that the best human nature and the highest mental powers (not to mention spiritual) of which a man is capable can be developed or else lost according to certain well-defined principles and methods of training which can be imparted to or acquired by a man. To reckon a man, therefore, as merely an individual unit and then to base our generalisations on a tacit assumption that 'all men are equal' as perhaps in Rousseau's state of nature—is bound to lead us to very absurd results at times. We are not so much complaining of merely deductive reasonings, but we have a very great cause of complaint when the same abstract reasonings are carried to their most logical extremes in their practical application. For instance, it may be all very well for Herbert Spencer to have defined the proper sphere of individual liberty as that 'scheme of limitation, whereby the liberty of each is limited only by the like liberties of all other individuals,' but we question whether it would be at all conducive to justice or to a right state of affairs to allow each and every individual full freedom to do that which he wills without infringing upon the equal freedom

of any other man. To cite some concrete examples, we have, for instance, already referred in our first article to a gross injustice as considered from the point of view of general welfare resulting from our extension of the rule of civil franchise to all and sundry indiscriminately without having regard to their ability to properly exercise that power. Take another case, say of those underlings of human race inhabiting the nether-world of East London, those who should presumably enjoy all the territorial liberties common to all Englishmen, yet deserve only to be treated as ' criminal tribes ' or ' incorrigible offenders.' Whereas on the one hand, our courts of criminal law start with a special solicitude for the accused so that there be not one case in a hundred where he might be innocently incriminated, there exists on the other hand, a highly perfected machinery for the defence of the criminal, and we have it provided in the law that unless the charge of a crime were established by full and absolute proof of the crime, all the benefit of doubt should be given to the accused. We question, would it be true of all people—say, even all those inhabiting a country so homogeneous in its civilisation as England—that the above-mentioned facilities afforded by law for the defence of a criminal would make him even a whit more honourable or even ' dignified in appearance.' Further, can any one deny that there were not to be found a host of incorrigible offenders against public justice in every civilised country to whom the prospect of a conviction and sentence of a lock-up in the State prisons—by no means mean, if not "comfortable" dwelling houses for them—had ceased to be a scare or to exercise any deterrent influence upon them, that in fact from their desperation in life they courted the King's hospitality with the same grace as they were brutally callous of perpetrating the most heinous of crimes towards humanity. And society continues to be a big masquerade

for such as these in order that civilised law may fulfil its aim of having all people at least put on the appearances of respectability when brought to their trial—whether it be the case of the desperados of the indigent class or of those who are by inherited right " decent people " among the upper capitalist ranks who have sometimes perforce to play a high game in life and thus to seek the protection of insolvency laws for the future perpetuation of their " decency." The following is a recent illuminating press-extract under the caption 'what crime costs in England':—

" Statistics have been compiled by financial houses, assurance companies, and chambers of commerce, which give the immense total of £20 million as the annual toll exacted by all kinds of criminal procedure, writes a British paper.

" Long-firm frauds and fraudulent bankruptcy, by which manufacturers and agents are swindled by men, who open businesses never meaning to pay for the goods they secure, account for £10,000,000 of the total.

" Forgeries, embezzlements and fraudulent dealings in shares amount to another £2,500,000. Burglary, house-breaking and pocket-picking account for more than £2,000,000. Half a million pounds' worth of property was stolen last year in London alone; and the proceeds of robberies in the next ten largest cities of the country reached £750,000."

Figures of crime of another Democratic country, ' God's Own Country ': United States are disclosed in a recent article in the Sunday Times by Sir Leo Chiozza Money, from which the following extract is taken:—

" In the United States . . . . 12,000 murders are committed every year or 250 per week. As compared with this the United Kingdom has a record of only 3 murders a week. An American writer has estimated the cost of American crime. He computes that between thefts, burglaries, frauds, forgeries, wild-cat flotations, etc., the total comes to the staggering figure of £2,600,000,000 . . . . This sad case of America should help us to realize that civilisation is insecure and that something more than material prosperity is necessary to preserve the souls of men."

Not only all men are equal in the eye of law, but the longest latitude is allowed to our highly-vaunted of liberty,

even though justice be defeated. For instance, the night-watchman must not restrain nor watch anybody's movements at any late hour in the night, even though opportunities for perpetrating crime may increase thereby. Again, in order to make for a quick transfer or creation of wealth no distinction between "positive" and "negative" goods or utilities need be taken into consideration in the contemplation of law and as affecting general welfare, and so immoral trades and occupations are allowed to be carried on even though strongest temptations of sense-stimulation, aided by all the developed scientific cunning, are offered to lure away 'honest' men—men who are at perfect liberty to contract themselves out of their rights to property and wealth.

Let us just think of the utter ignorance in which a common man of the street is brought up, the kind of education that is imparted in our public schools and we will easily see that all that a common man learns to know these days is that he is a bundle of so many wants and desires of which the satiation is an end in itself, whereas he is nowhere taught to distinguish between 'positive' and 'negative' values, between the sources of permanent and transitory happiness. To take a single concrete example from Herbert Spencer himself: we are nowhere taught the science of living a long and healthy life or taught to appreciate the fact that man's body is essentially a natural organism which can best thrive in contact with nature, on the contrary, how easily are we apt to imitate all the arts of decoration, of ostentation, of social etiquette and society fashions, in which the idle rich are ever setting the worst possible example to the rest. Is it not anti-social education, one may question? And yet what an idol we have made of 'individual liberty' by presuming that everybody may be supposed to know wherein his best welfare lies, to what absurd limits we have pressed the idea

by allowing any man to own any number of H. P. engines and be a master by means of a "free (yes, free to serve the ends of exploitation) wage contract" of the services of any number of persons that he can employ. It is a liberty that one may run his factory plant or his railway day and night provided that certain prescribed regulations are observed, the reason being that since such a keen competition in wealth-producing industries or other utility (or disutility) producing occupations is desirable, it may be pursued up to its extreme end, until the actual workers were "sweated," their lives made most unnatural, the negative goods produced be in greater plenty than positive goods, there be excessive economic waste through anti-social ways of competition, and all the ends-in-view (however materialistic) sacrificed to the means. To take another example, if concentration of population be a desirable thing to a certain extent, say, for the location of markets or the localisation of industries, and so on, it becomes one of the gravest of evils for man's happiness when carried to extremes, and what is true of great concentration of population must also be true of quick locomotion and other means of communication which promotes and makes possible such concentration. The same remarks more or less apply to all other so-called liberties, *e.g.*, freedom of speech, of the Press, and of association, for there is as much if not more of abuse than good use made of all these liberties. In the recently reported words of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald: "It is not a question of creed but of practice, and when you see the sort of stuff now filling the newspapers it makes every decent man and woman blush and wonder what is coming over society. Can we not see that it is a sign of deterioration of those who are not doing decent work?"

Such is our Liberty *in Excelsis*—better call it, Free License. Oh Goddess of Liberty! Thou too had been

abused more by thine excess than by thine paucity in the Age of Slavery, and at last thine spirit too had been encaged and enslaved by chains wrought in the very name of the shibboleth of individual liberty. Indeed, how little does European philosophy realize the truth contained in the commonplace maxim "what may be good in moderation may become evil at extremes" and as the Indian proverb has it, "Too sweet becomes bitter."

In the fair name of 'Equality' and 'laissez faire' we seek justification for that state of most insane, cut-throat and ruthless competition which goes on in society on the lowest biological plane of existence in the essentially social processes of production and distribution and forbid the assertion of the higher will of the community through any State regulation or interference in 'matters social' that are to be left alone. And yet once in a while the principle of 'Social Justice' and the 'right cause' forces its pace ahead in spite of the befogged vision and morbid stupor of our legislators, but soon again they make a muddle of everything by confusing the real issues involved, since they dare not stand the piercing gaze of Truth that may cost them a sacrifice of vested interests they represent and cherish so dearly. We cannot do better than quote here in our support the following closely-reasoned statement from the pen of no less eminent an authority on the subject than Sydney Webb (*Problems of Modern Industry*, Longmans, 1902 Ed., p. 115) :—

"Even on the 'glorified policeman' theory of 'administrative nihilism,' it is universally admitted to be the primary duty of Government to prescribe the plane on which it will allow the 'struggle of existence' to be fought out. Of course, the 'fittest' to survive under the given conditions will inevitably survive, but the Government does much to determine the conditions, and therefore to decide whether the 'fittest,' by the test of conflict, shall be also the 'best' then and there possible. We have long ruled out of the conflict the appeal to brute force, thereby depriving

the strongest man of his 'natural' advantage over his weaker brother. We stop, as fast as we can, every department of fraud and chicanery, and so limit the 'natural' right of the cunning to overreach their neighbours. Notwithstanding cries of '*caveat emptor*,' we prohibit the weapon of deceptive labels and trade marks. In spite of John Bright's protest, we rule that adulteration is not a legally permissible form of competition. We forbid slavery: with Mill's consent, we even refuse to uphold a lifelong contract of service. The whole history of Government is, indeed, one long series of definitions and limitations of the conditions of the struggle, in order to raise the quality of the fittest who survive. This service can be performed only by Government. No individual competitor can lay down the rules for the combat. No individual can safely choose the higher plane, so long as his opponent is at liberty to fight on the lower. 'Gresham's Law,' according to which bad currency drives out good, applies throughout the industrial contest. The 'good' employer is liable to be ousted by the bad, and, as is now explained, the honesty which is the best policy is merely just so much honesty as will not let you fall flagrantly out at elbows with your neighbours. If sixteen hours in the gas-lit basements of the London textile ware-houses is the standard of the trade for growing lads, apparently not even a Samuel Morley could venture to work his staff shorter hours. No cotton factory will dare to work only eight hours while its rival works ten. No shop dare close while its competing neighbour remains open. It is for the people collectively to decide whether the industrial tournament shall be fought *a l'outrance*, or shall be merely a friendly emulation, not involving wounds, degradation, and death even for the vanquished. A hundred years ago the "fittest" to survive were sturdy Virginian slaves; sixty years ago they were the maimed, distorted, and diseased factory hands who paraded before Lord Ashley in Oldham and Blackburn; a generation ago they were the 'lower class brutalised' of the great apostle of culture—what they will be a generation hence depends essentially upon the legal and social limitations which we to-day set to the 'ape and tiger' of the 'natural' man.

"The case is not one of personal liberty in self-regarding acts. No one wishes to prevent a man from working as long as he pleases; the community merely claims the right to prevent him from selling his excessive labour in such a way as to cause other workers to be compelled to work as long as he does. No one is to be coerced for his own supposed advantage, but only for the sake of others, in cases where his pursuit of that advantage operates so as to limit the industrial freedom of his fellows."

And yet, how far—very far, indeed—is the world to-day from accepting the view of the State, as laid down in the following words by that prince amongst socialists, Ferdinand Lassalle: "That we must widen our notion of the State so as to believe that the State is the institution in which the whole virtue of humanity should be realized." As we have it, under the present regime of an industrial system based on monopoly interests and biological laws of Supply and Demand, most inhuman processes are being wrought under the guise of so-called 'fair competition,' which is only fair to the victor on the field in an unequal competition with all its ever concentrative tendencies to make 'rich, richer and poor, poorer.' It is a system wherein the whole brunt of competition—all risks and losses—are borne by the weakest marginal producer, the poorest marginal saver, the marginal worker and the marginal consumer; whereas all the monopoly revenues and rental profits and consumers' surpluses are the privilege of the capitalist class to enjoy. How often, indeed, have honest men turned away from such a system in horror and disgust on coming to realise that it did not furnish a single vocation of life whereby one may honestly earn his livelihood without having recourse to such doubtful methods now in vogue, and approved by the present-day standards of professional morality, those, for instance, of a self-seeking, self-assuming, self-advertisement, and a kind of double-dealing by means of "diplomatic policies?" Even the machinery of law and justice is notoriously corrupt, its aim being the farthest from meting out perfect justice. For, it is a clear avowal in our modern treatises on Jurisprudence, that no one need be responsible for what may be turned out as the product out of the rigid machinery of law and justice, and even presuming it fails to deal out absolute justice, it still serves the ulterior end of bringing about a most desirable circulation of the riches of the

kingdom—*i.e.*, from the less clever to the intelligent. "Property being theft," as Rodbertus put it, it is indeed a most desirable end in view that it should not remain in one hand, but should be made to circulate through the agency of the machinery of Government, which raises taxes with a view to distribute them among its constituent members, supposed to represent the best mental labourers of the nation, also sometimes does not hesitate to derive the proceeds from court fees and stamp duties levied on proceedings at law, even though "justice be sold." Notwithstanding this one laudable aim of the modern governments, that is, to make for a circulation of the riches, however grossly 'materialistic' the aim may appear to be, what we find in actual fact is that, the very contrary of it is realized and translated into action by means of the daily practical functioning of the Government, such as, through its monetary dealings, its big contracts, its issue of public debts through banks, and so on, things that need concern only the financial magnates of the capitalist class. It is also because of the propertied civilisation that the mental labourers, the so-called administrators of the Government have to be paid so disproportionately above their just requirements—physical or mental.

How difficult, then, it must really be to afford the luxury of being perfectly honest in one's dealings, when we see every day a transfer of wealth taking place to the smart and the crafty in a system which lays a premium on those doubtful virtues? Who can deny that modern institutions—the principal among them being that of private property—are in no small degree responsible for corrupting human nature, for making it incumbent upon men to indulge in luxuries, and learn the arts of ostentation and imposition? Take the case of India of a hundred years back when the simple Indian peasants were perhaps the most honest people, that were ever born on the face of

the earth, but with the advent of the East India Company the trade morality was first lowered and then the corruption progressed with the advance of British rule or Western civilization, until it became a patent fact that the introduction of the modern legal codes and machinery of law and justice, and the institution of landlordism added to a policy of free trade, made those very peasants almost as good cheats and ruffians as might be seen to comprise the masses of any other country. The poor in our Mammon-worshipping civilisation are more or less bound to ape the rich by using imitation articles of luxury, that are 'cheap and nasty,' in order that they may keep up appearances of a certain standard of equipment required to maintain the dignity of an "hon'ble and honorary membership of a fashionable civilisation"; whereas the "rioting in luxury"—otherwise called Consumptionism—on the part of the rich has come to be a desirable periodical phenomenon recurring with each industrial crisis, since such a consumptive use of capital is the only thing to bring relief to the grave situation caused by unemployment and thus acts as a safety-valve of our society. Again, in our artificial civilisation we have to keep going on with several standards of morality—one for the family, another for our club or society with its hard-bound and rigid rules of etiquette, a third for our professional life, and a fourth for our dealings with those belonging to a class or stratum of society different from that of ours, and yet perhaps a fifth for international diplomacy. It is, indeed, a part of our training to receive a training in hypocrisy or call it bourgeouise respectability. Thus we have from Edward Carpenter, writing on "Desirable Mansions":—

"A young lady that I knew, and who lived in such a mansion, used, with her sisters, to teach a class of factory girls. Every now and again one of the girls would say:

"Eh, Miss, how I would like to be a grand lady like you!"

Then she would answer: "Yes, but you know you wouldn't

be able to do everything you liked; for instance, you wouldn't be allowed to go out walking when you liked."

"Oh, dear! they would say to one another, "She is not allowed to go out walking when she likes—she is not allowed to go out walking when she likes!"

. . . .

"I find there are certain things to be done—a certain code of things that you may do, a certain way of doing them, a certain way of putting your knife and fork on the plate. When you come down to dinner in the evening you must put on what the Yankees call a claw-hammer coat. It is not certain (and it is just the grisly part of it) what would happen if you did not do this. In some societies, evidently such a casualty has never been contemplated. I have heard such people seriously discussing—in cases where the required article was missing—what could be done, where one could be borrowed, etc., but, clearly, it did not occur to them that any one could dine in his natural clothes. Sometimes, when in a fashionable church, I have wondered whether it would be possible to worship God in a flannel shirt; but I suppose to go out to a dinner party in such a costume would be even more unthinkable. As I said before, you are in prison. So submit to the prison rules and it is alright—attempt to go beyond them, and you are visited with condign punishment. The rules have no sense, but that does not matter (possibly, some of them had sense once but it must have been a very long time ago); the people are good people, no better nor worse in themselves than the real workers, the real hands and hearts of the world; but they are condemned to banishment from the world, condemned into the prison houses of futility . . . ."

And these rigid and inelastic rules of an artificial system are kept up by the all too powerful regulative agency of the upper capitalist class, which can afford to set a bad example for others and then exploit the others' weakness. Let us give another picture of this great class of people of the Olympian origin from the same article of Edward Carpenter:—

"But it is a very real one. What cares, what anxieties, what yellow and blue fits, what sleepless nights, dance attendance on the worshipper in the great temple of stocks! The capricious deity that dwells there has to be appeased by ceaseless offerings. Usury! Crookfaced idol, loathed yet grovelled to by half the

world, whose name is an abomination to speak openly, yet whose secret rites are practised by thousands who revile thy name, what spell of gloom and bilious misery dost thou cast over thy worshippers! Is it possible that the ancient curse has not yet lost its effect; that to acquire interest on money and to acquire interest in life are *not* the same thing; that they are positively not compatible with each other; that to fly from one's just share of labour in the world, in order to live upon the hard-earned profits of others, is not, and cannot come to good?

"Is it possible, I say, reader, that there *is* a moral law in the world facing us quite calmly in every transaction of our lives, by which it must be so—by which cowardice and shame cannot breed anything else for us but gloom and bilious misery? In this age which rushes to stocks—to debenture, preference, consolidated, and ordinary stocks, to shares, bonds, coupons, dividends—not even refusing scrip when it can get it—does it ever occur to us to consider what it all means; to consider that all the money so gained is *taken* from some one else; that what we have not *earned* cannot possibly be ours, except by gift, or (Shall I say it?) *theft?* How can it, then, come with a blessing? How can we not but think of the railway operatives, the porters, managers, superintendents, drivers, stokers, platelayers, carriage-washers, navvies, out of whose just earnings (and from no other source) our dividends are taken? Let alone honesty—what, surely does our pride say to this? Is it possible that this frantic dividend-dance of the present-day is like a dance of dancers dancing without any music—an aimless, incoherent, impossible dance, weltering down at last to idiocy and oblivion?

"Curious, is it not, that this subject of dividends is never mentioned before the said wage-receiving class? I have often noticed that, when James enters the room, or Jefferey comes to look at the gas-fittings, the babble of stocks dies silently away, as if ashamed of itself; and while a man will, without reserve, allude to his professional salary, he is generally as secret concerning his share-gotten gains as ladies are said to be about their age.

"But, as I said at first, these things are not generally a man's fault. They are the product of the circumstances in which he is born. From his childhood he is trained ostensibly in the fear of God, but really in the fear of money. The whole tenor of the conversation which he hears round him, and his early teaching, tend to impress upon him the awful dangers of not having *enough.*

"Strange that it never occurs to parents of this class to teach their children how *little* they can live upon, and be happy (but perhaps they do not know). Hence the child of the poor man—even in these adverse times—grows up with some independence of mind; for he knows that if at any time he can obtain £50 or £100 a year by the work of his hands, he will be able to bring up a little family; while the son of a rich man in the midst of a family income of fifty times £50, learns to tremble slavishly at the prospect of the future; dark hints of the workhouse are whispered in his ears; father and mother, school teachers and friends, join in pressing him into a profession which he hates—stultifying his whole life—because it will lead to £500, or even £1,000 a year in course of time . . . ."

What, indeed, can be the quality of the people resulting from such a system, which forces our hand along the evil path by keeping us bound down with the merciless rigour of the law of Economic Determinism? Let us quote a few illustrations of dishonesty and depraved consumption, as being induced by the present system from the pen of a learned economist of the Christian School, C. S. Devas: (*Pol. Econ.*, Stonyhurst Phil. Series.)

"Moreover, the desperate struggle for customers offers an inducement to all sorts of adulteration, enabling a lower price to be profitably charged, and rivals undersold; and similarly there is the strongest inducement to foster misdirected consumption.

. . . . "At all times, indeed, ignorance, folly, or vice may result in people consuming what is not good for them at all, or what is less good for them than something else they could procure, and thus more or less wasting their income. But where concerted labour is complicated, it may happen, and in our present industrial system does happen, that it is the immediate interest of many people to produce and sell inferior merchandise and to foster misdirected consumption. Thus in England at present there is a vast production of goods known as cheap and nasty, which are really not cheap, if by cheapness we mean that the cost is low in comparison with the utility. The enormous quantity of bad beer, ill-made 'cheap' bread, 'slop' clothing compounded of 'shoddy' cloth and soap, machine-sewn boots of bad leather, 'jerry built' cottages and houses in which all the work has been 'scamped,' furniture made of unseasoned timber and knocked together with nails instead of being dove-tailed—such goods are not really

cheap, but wasteful. . . . It is thus probable that the sums annually wasted by the English middle-class on 'doing-up' their houses, and by the working classes on replacing their clothing, amount to many million pounds. And the vast majority of consumers have no choice but to acquiesce in this waste, as they lack the time and the technical knowledge to procure well-built houses and durable clothes, and must take, as the only guides at hand, appearance and price, following the fashion of the day and selecting what looks the best and is called the cheapest. . . .

"Then further it has become the interest of whole bodies of men to promote a misdirection of wants or depraved consumption, by enticing others to purchase what is morally or physically injurious to them; and thus to cause the substitution of negative goods for positive. Two notable examples, keeping again within the limits of modern England, are the enticement of working women to get into debt and ruin their homes by the purchase of trinkets and dresses from travelling vendors; and secondly, the enticement of all the poorer classes in town and country to become drunkards."

About such a system we cannot help commending to the reader, before we close this article, the following able criticism from the pen of the learned expounder of the rival Indian system of Communalism, Dr. R. K. Mukerjee (*Ples. of Comparative Econ.*, Vol. I, p. 295. P. S. King):

"Western economics tells us that economic life and activity operate under three conditions, the State, private property and competition. The economic field is considered to be a closed list, surrounded by the impregnable forts represented by the rigid and crystallised institutions of private property and the State. Till the better half of the nineteenth century the economists occupied the supreme seat of the judge of the tournament. He had bound the hands of the State in fetters of his inexorable doctrine of *laissez faire*, so that the confusion, the combat, and the death in the melee within the enclosure, went unheeded. The victors were rewarded with golden band, and the spectators cheered the victors among grave noddings of the judges and the united applause of the multitude. But the age of chivalry is gone. The impregnable forts have been demolished. The police State does not stand by unconcerned but frames rules for those who enter the lists. It aspires to become the Socialistic and even the paternal State. Yet the tournament continues though the forts crumble down,

and the brazen and iron laws, the barriers of the lists, are overthrown. And the economist will not desert his post. He hurls anathemas—'the sins of legislators,' 'the evils of State interference,' the vices of fraternalism and humanitarianism, the sins of private charity, 'panmixia' or degeneration, and other such curses of his school against those who are intruders; while the Queen of the tournament also allures by her smiles; and her smiles are the blandishments of a sense-born art, she smiles and she beckons, for she is the Siren of a faithless commerce. She exhibits her jewels,—and there are kingdoms and empires for the victors.

"But the East, the Mother of races and religions, would build a sanctuary. The East knows nothing of chivalry and tournaments. In the shadow of the glacier-clad Himalayas, with the waves of the ocean beating on the southern shores, she has dreamt dreams other than those of the allurements of the senses. She has dreamt not of wealth and possessions, nor of power and pomp. The East has through ages loved creation and renunciation more than wealth and efficiency. The civilisation of the East has developed the instincts and desires to create and distribute, rather than to appropriate and exploit. The instincts to create and distribute are essentially harmonious, thus the East has sought to avoid conflict. The Socialistic State and private property are the great embodiments of the principles of appropriation and possession in the West. A decentralised polity and communalism are the great embodiments of the opposite principles in China and India."

PART III. COMMUNALISM *versus* STATE SOCIALISM.

The title given to this article would suggest a certain antithesis between the two terms : ' Communalism ' which stands for village-economy and ' State-economy.' They are indeed representative of two systems diametrically opposed to each other in spirit : one, the State, as symbolical of a centralized and highly specialized departmental system; while the other a symbolism of decentralisation. As extremes are always characterised by evil tendencies, the one suffers from too much regulation and formalism and concentrative tendencies; the other stands for all that goes by the name of inefficiency and ineptitude for any organized effort. However much you may applaud or deify your State-machine, or sing praises of a natural grouping of society resulting out of a most harmonious and organic union of certain disintegrated and autonomous small communities—it would in neither case furnish human history with any new experience, and it would, sooner or later, become impossible for us to escape the inevitable conclusion that the real solution lay in the golden mean. For progress in society will be choked in one case owing to those very forces of super-efficiency which breed and nurture within themselves the germs of anarchy and confusion, and checkmated in the other case by the very absence of that propelling force inherent in individualism which favours invention and improvement in arts.

Various schools of Socialism have advocated very different reforms of the present industrial system and they have for long been before the public, although it cannot be said that they have yet had their full trial. There is a new tendency exhibited nowadays as a result of imbib-

ing the spirit of Eastern institutions and simple arts and handicrafts of the East, towards a reaction from modern industrialism or capitalism and all that comes under its sway including the political machine of the State, along lines very different from that of Socialism, and this tendency has given birth to various new schools preaching decentralisation as their theme in industrial organisation as well as in politics. They advocate in some form or another a return to medievalism and a revival of cottage industries, while also aiming to absorb in the old system the fruits of modern inventions.

In order that we may form clear issues for our examination, we shall, however, confine our attention to a more or less scientific exposition of the so-called Theory of Communalism as developed by its latest exponent, the learned Professor Dr. Radhakamal Mukerjee in his two volumes, entitled *The Principles of Comparative Economics* (P. S. King & Son).

To illustrate the great divergence of views between Western Socialism and Eastern Communalism, we quote the following general remark of the author—(p. 52, Vol. II) :—

> "The East would work at the sources. The West would patch up and tinker the results which are caused by bad conditions and which cannot be avoided unless the conditions are themselves rectified. . . . . . The East would work on the roots of the disease and at her best prevent diseases altogether. A healthy and efficient body economic does not need any medicines like social legislation or a surgical operation that Socialism aspires to execute."

The panacea offered by the Communalistic philosophy is to divide the entire human society on a territorial basis, by breaking it into small isolated communities and by making the individual subservient to the will of that small community to whichsoever he may choose to belong. The first pre-requisite of the system must be an autonomous

community, like an Indian village, or Owen's commune, which can only be possible in a decentralized government. In the words of the author—(p. 229, Vol. II) :—

"In these small republics, or village communities there is a complete freedom of economic and financial activity directed to secure the well-being of the communities. India has secured decentralisation as the method of social efficiency, decentralisation in Politics and administration and industrial decentralisation as well."

Here, mark the words "small republics" and "complete freedom of economic and financial activity." It is implied by these words that the village-capital, *i.e.*, land, will be owned by the village-community as a whole and will be shared for cultivation only according to periodical allotments made by the village-council and will not be the subject of private property for any individual, not to say for any one not residing in the village and not cultivating for himself. The author has in another place described in eulogistic terms the example of the modernised village government of Japan (p. 173, Vol. II) :—

"Till recently the Japanese administration unit was the village or as we call it in India, the *mauza*. This unit, cramped and narrow, has been replaced by *aza* groups, containing as many as nineteen villages. The local associations have their own measure of self-government under a council of village elders and enjoy considerable powers of taxation to meet expenditure upon works of local improvement. They are the points at which the agricultural, educational, co-operative, irrigation and engineering experts of government impinge upon village-life; and there is no doubt that the sense of association and responsibility thus fostered has given a powerful impetus to the development of Japanese resources."

Communalism is, in a word, wedded to space. For, firstly, it is held that the occupation of a spacious house to live in is of the first importance for the healthy and normal development of man—morally, mentally, and physically; and for the same reasons conditions of work

within one's home are far more conducive to happiness as well as to efficiency of work, the labours of the worker being sweetened at intervals by the presence of his family environment, hence cottage industries besides land-farming point to the ideal. In support of this let us quote the author—(p. 95, Vol. II) :—

" Agriculture and home industry carried on in the field and the cottage promote vital values which should not be ignored by the economist. The family, the home and the land-basis, each stands for the development of vital efficiency and organic welfare. And, lest economism comprehends the whole of life, the community would directly spend the profit of industry or the unearned increment, which go to add to the communal income for the encouragement of popular art, education, religion and social recreations. A portion would be set apart to support the personality social groups who increase the proportion of non-material to material wealth in society."

Secondly, any industry of large-scale production will be carried on by communal organisations of trade-guilds, which will both fix the standards of fair wages as well as of efficiency of work—the surplus income by way of profits going to the community as a whole, as also the ownership of capitalistic instruments of production, for instance, the power-installation to distribute the current for the working of the private cottage machines, would be vested in the community. Thus we have from the author under the heading " Communalism applied to modern conditions " (p. 47, Vol. II) :—

" The same principle of co-partnership in the complex tools of production, the most remarkable characteristic of our economic life, might be extended to the specialized machinery, workshop and power-houses of modern scientific industry when the latter will be introduced into our village-communities. Machinery and complex instruments of production, the use of which is beyond the access of individuals, will be owned and operated in our villages on social principles, rather than the principle of private property. Shares will be distributed in the same way as those of a co-operative irrigation establishment; the wear and tear will be recouped

by the whole body of co-proprietors or labourers interested, and the products appropriated according to the labour and service of each. The standard of life of the workers and quality in work will be protected by the guild organisation expanded and adapted to meet the more complex economic needs and requirements of to-day, and administered in the interests of producers."

The above account gives us a clear outline of the industrial scheme of Communalistic philosophy. Each individual is supposed to belong to a joint-family which must be settled in a distinctly separate community to whose will and guidance the individual will and his activities must be subordinated, at least in all matters affecting the economic welfare of the individual. In other words, Communalism rings the death-knell of all individualism. But the question arises whether or not the individual, on whom all the forces of self-interest play in the present system, will be substituted by those hypothetical isolated communities, of the nature of "small republics," under Communalism, for it is not unlikely these communities may compete between themselves, and some may become richer and others poorer according to their efficiency of organisation or natural wealth. This brings us at once to a consideration of the allied scheme of politics as contemplated by the Communalistic philosophy. The hypothetical communities, while fully autonomous as regards all their internal affairs, will be subject to the arbitration of the council of representatives of the first group of such communities only in matters under dispute between such communities. Such representative bodies of the first groupings of the primary unit will send up their representatives to form a higher arbitration board or council, say for one district, and so on, from out of the districts for the province, and from out of the provinces for the whole country, and lastly, for the whole world. We should here take note of the great difference between an 'Arbitration Council' and a 'Legislative

Council,' although our learned expounder of Communalism, Professor Mukerjee, has discreetly omitted to discuss this political aspect of his scheme. The difference lies in that the former will be merely concerned with the work of settling questions under dispute whenever so referred to them; and will be even debarred from inflicting any new measure on the will of those contending parties. From the above description it will be clear that the upper arbitration chambers, at any rate, will have practically no work to do besides settling matters affecting boundaries or laying down something like public or international law. On the contrary, if it be assumed that legislative powers are also vested in such representative bodies, then even the most innocent and the most beneficial of measures, that may be recommended by such upper chambers, will at once do away with all the theoretically privileged autonomy of the intermediary as well as the lowest units, and will at once throw the whole fabric into a state of chaos and confusion. To take an instance, suppose the representative chamber for the whole country were to resolve upon to construct a railway line, or open a new canal, what should happen if a certain village or other primary communal unit were to decline to give its consent to such a construction being made upon or across its territory? and so on, similar examples can be multiplied.

Now that we have exposed to light some of the anomalies involved in the very conception of the political fabric of Communalism, presented under the charming name of a 'Decentralisation Scheme,' and hence also the futility of the sacrifice of the individual for a territorial bondage, we shall proceed to refer to a few other glaring points of weakness and important limitations of the Communalistic philosophy. For one, our learned author, Professor Mukerjee, has avowedly admitted the fact of a

great loss in efficiency of production that is bound to result by a reversion from the present factory system back to that of cottage industries. Again, so long as the modern facilities for locomotion by means of the railway and the steamship exist and foreign goods are dumped into our local markets, there can be no return possible to the conditions contemplated by Communalism. Our learned author would probably have us break asunder the wheels of our modern railway trucks, since he found it convenient to rule out of discussion even a barest reference to our changed outlook on life as brought about by the modern facilities of communications, and this because these communications, although they brought the great evil of a concentration of population in cities were also in conflict with the conception of a society divided on a territorial basis. We may, by the way, propose to the learned author to prefer, instead, as a lesser evil, a discriminative regulation in transport of certain articles of commerce only by means of our railways—for instance, among goods of consumption—all land-produce and medicinal preparations, and among goods of production may be included things like our books, stationery, machinery and chemicals. The rest of consumption must be confined to local produce and manufacture. Any other specimens of art may be exhibited in public museums, or so-called "luxuries" of cultural value socialized. Indeed, the author offers us but small consolation when he recommends that consumption under Communalism would be uplifted in the following words (p. 95, Vol. II) :—

"Consumption would be more immaterial than material. Communalism emphasises a gradual uplift of the plane of Consumption. In conventional economics, the merely biological plane of Consumption is recognised. The true progress of wants lies not in the multiplication of physical wants, but in the ascent of wants, the progressive substitution of immaterial for material wants. It is this which implies the explanation of a fuller and

spiritually complex personality. A real progress in the arts of consumption implies not merely that there are more varied wants, but that there are also less intense pleasures. There is more personal and discriminative demand for goods, which sets strict limits to the use of machinery and calls for a large application of individual skill and dexterity in arts and handicrafts. There is less private luxury, more socialized enjoyment. There are public luxuries. There are more social wants, fewer personal wants. The luxuries of the rich will be enjoyed by the poor. The rich and poor will co-operate in the making of institutions, partly religious and partly educational and philanthropic. There will be seen popular initiatives. There will flourish popular songs, folklore, literature and romance, a popular religion of nature and of humanity which will satisfy man's spiritual aspirations and rescue him from a barren economism with its exclusively pecuniary valuation—a naturalism and pluralism which binds man to the virtues of nature and humanity instead of the worship of blind nature and stark sense that stultifies the intellect and befogs the vision. Every man will not only participate in the fruits of civilisation, but help in its progress. That is the ideal of a spiritual democracy no longer restricted to the ideal of mere material efficiency, but aiding the realisation of a fuller and intellectually spiritually complex life for all."

These are fine words embodying noble sentiments with which we are in perfect accord, and our solution would also be aimed at achieving the same consummation, but our learned author has failed to clarify some of the most fundamental issues. In fact, like all aims and ideals the scheme of Communalism can only be aimed at and cherished, without any hope of its being ever realized in the modern conditions of life. As to what should be the intermediate steps leading to it? must remain the greatest of riddles, and in this respect our learned expounder of it has, like all inspired authors, sacrificed the means of accomplishment for the ends-in-view. Again, as regards adopting the proper method to revert back to the ideal state of things it could certainly do no good to act out the advice of those zealots of the philosophy of Communalism who would first throw back the present social structure

into that primary state of nature and that first stage of civilisation from which it had in the past evolved on presumably wrong lines, and from which state henceforward, it was their pious anticipation that society should recreate itself along certain healthy, normal and stable lines of evolution. It would be an altogether different process, and, indeed, a saner one, to try to aim at simplifying the State-machine by resolving it into smaller units, such as by granting a far fuller measure of freedom, through a municipalisation of certain functions only of corporate life, to small communities like parishes or town-corporations.

The State is undoubtedly too big to take care of the weak, the fallen and the destitute among mankind; individuals become too insignificant before the power of the man sitting at the helm and on the majestic throne of the State. But the neo-critics of the State forget to take note of an important factor introduced in our problem, the fact that the modern communications have reduced the State to the limits of a village. Also the cosmopolitan element of modern standardized education, as well as the broader sweep of intellect accustomed to cope with the larger unit, needs to be taken into account. We may take for granted that both of these two new factors—*i.e.*, (i) that of modern facilities of communication leading to closer association between men, and (ii) that of the greater development of brain-power—will be conspicuous by their absence under the Communalistic regime, and hence all the fundamental basis for any progress in society will have been destroyed.

N.B.—The fact that we have made no ill-judged criticism of Communalism so far as the argument of "Progress" is concerned, will be self-evident by taking notice of the attendant risks, as given in the following comparative table made by the author himself (Vol. I, pp. 226-27):—

Western and Eastern Systems Compared.

I. Competitive Industrialism (Western).	II. Communalism (Indian).
(i) *Economic Motive:*	
. . . .	. . . .
Attendant risks:—Social revolt, class strife, and in the international field, racial antagonism.	Social rigidity that may interfere with individual initiative.
(ii) *Economic Progress:*	
. . . .	. . . .
Attendant risks:—Degradation of the weak and artificial breeding of the successful types. Inequality in the distribution of rewards. Appearance of privilege and monopoly on the one hand and of destitution and pauperism on the other.	Social inertia, and social compulsion by inelastic custom.
(iii) *Socio-economic Structure:*	
. . . .	. . . .
Attendant risks:—Magnification of groups into monopolistic rings, combines, syndicates, State bureaux and collective organisations.	Lapse into particularist and loosely cohering groups.
(iv) *Economic Distribution:*	
. . . .	. . . .
Attendant risks:—Inequitable distribution of wealth and opportunities withholding from the majority the very values which one sought.	Customary distribution which checks free adaptation to new cultural needs stultifying the very principle of proportioning reward to merit.

(v) *Consumption:*

. . . .

Attendant risks:—Ostentatious waste. Art the monopoly of the few. Lavishment on luxuries, scrimping on necessaries.

Low level of consumption below the margin of efficient subsistence. Loss of initiative due to limitation of wants. Mendicancy. Want of variety and novelty in consumption.

(vi) *Socio-economic Ideal:*

. . . .

Attendant risks:—Poverty of personal life, bourgeoise respectability. An undue emphasis in the appropriative and possessing impulses at the expense of the creative and distributive. Mechanical efficiency at the expense of vital efficiency.

Personal life-values and attainment of harmony with the environment, natural and social. Personal values become too subjective, resulting in inefficiency and listlessness, stagnation and fatalistic resignation to nature and to world forces.

In our support we may quote the following from the pen of an eminent authority on Socialism, Thomas Kirkupp, written under the heading "Essentials of Social Progress" in his *History of Socialism* (p. 419):—

"In the development of living things two factors have been decisive, the development of brainpower and the development of the social principle. . . . A rational Socialism might be defined as the mastery of associated human intelligence over the resources of human nature for the general good. In this respect, also, the success of Socialism would simply mark the continuous development of man *along the tested and approved lines of Progress.*

". . . The Progress of Europe is greatly owing to the fact that in this continent we have a group of communities which are closely related, yet independent, and rivals. In every department of activity they learn from each other and spur one another by continual emulation. Each must follow its rivals in the adoption of every new improvement, under penalty of decline and even ruin. Communities like China and Japan in the old world, and the native States of Mexico and Peru in the new world, were isolated, and therefore stationary.

"Under the existing conditions, a social organisation favourable to the development of the intelligence, energy, and enthusiasm of the mass of the people is more and more necessary to success in the keen and arduous struggle waged by the European communities. The future both of Democracy and Socialism will largely depend on how far they can supply these advantages of organisation. For it is a struggle also between forms of social organisation. Any better form of organisation, when adopted by one of the communities, must also be adopted by its rivals. As soon as it was recognised that universal education and universal liability to military duty gave Prussia an exceptional advantage in the European struggle, other nations have been eager to follow.

"Thus, through the development of the principle of Sociality in the history of civilisation, the struggle for existence is not abolished. It is continued under more complex conditions, on a wider scale, over larger areas, by greater masses of organised men, with mightier weapons and vaster resources."

The opposite will be the effect of introducing *in toto* the so-called decentralisation scheme of Communalism, as is also prognosticated by the learned reviewer of Professor Mukerjee's Volumes in the *Economic Journal* (*vide* Dec. number, 1923) in the following interesting remarks:—

"One would like to know from the author about the interesting process by means of which the Indians have conquered Matter through Spirit and Spirit through Matter. They have all along prayed for more rain for the production of cows and wheat but one may be pardoned for doubting whether any of these desirable goods have descended from above in response to such appeals. Famines have been a constant visitation, but until very recent times no measures of any importance were ever taken to divert the waters flowing idly into the sea to agricultural lands for the production of more cows and wheat. The author has been very much disturbed by the spectacle of the recent war and its after-results. Serious doubts arise in one's mind as to whether the European patients for whom the prescription is written will be allured by the excellence of Communalism. Certain it is that the industrialists of Western India would like to cure the evils of Western Civilisation by the introduction of more civilisation—a hair of the dog that bit them."[1]

This much for a criticism of extreme Communalism. We must, however, be prepared to recognise truth and the good points in all systems whatever—indeed, none is without its good points—and thus to effect the best solution we must strike at a practical combination of the best in all systems. Decentralisation is certainly a laudable aim after the kind of experience we have had of a highly centralized system; fighting out of all monopolies is another such aim equally commendable to us; and the sacrifice of Capitalism (instead of Individualism) is the third; and we shall hope to combine all these three aims in our solution, but there are many a halting stage between two extremes, and we are not to be carried away by mere shibboleths and fine phrases. We have to recognise that Communalism shares the defect of Anarchism, which also could not visualise a social reconstruction more complex than that of a Russain village community, and as such it can only be practically applicable to the isolated agricultural village communities, as we have seen in the case of Japan, but even in their case the great loss of individual liberty involved in a territorial bondage, as well as the great revolution required to be brought about in order to effect such a change from the modern institution of landlordism, ought to make us turn our attention to other social theories of reform.

For instance, Henry George advocated land-nationalisation instead of communalisation, and the appropriation of rent to be made by taxation by the State instead of the village council of Elders as under Communalism. Now, certainly, it is to be noted to the credit of the Communalistic scheme that the best part of the surplus wealth of the village-community, which would have otherwise gone to the State or the central authority under all other schemes, remains under Communalism with the village council of Elders to be applied in any constructive schemes of develop-

ment for the general welfare of the community. Our solution, however, would point to the golden mean between a territorial bondage as contemplated under Communalism, on the one hand, and the scheme of land-nationalisation on the other hand, and that is, by introducing a sort of village self-government, in which the transferred powers vesting in the village council would be relating to those of assessment and collection of land-revenue; of consolidation of holdings instead of an arbitrary allotment of land as under Communalism; of the housing, the sanitation, the drainage, the irrigation, and such like local subjects. Let us quote in this connection the following few lines from our book, *The Labour Problem* (p. 141) :—

"Our aim is ultimately that only so much land should be held by one man, as can be cultivated by him and his joint-family, without the aid of hired labour; and that all the human families should live as near to land as possible, by having at least some members of each family who take to the noblest profession of the cultivating farmer. We are not in favour of State-production in the matter of land production, for the most stable and natural system would be in which the individual man lives on land, or as near to it as possible. Suppose one farmer through his single labour can till and reap so much land of an average quality as would produce corn enough to feed, say ten people throughout the year. Then we would wish each human family consisting of ten people to possess sufficient arable land for one man to cultivate and spare that one man at least for agricultural production.

"We must do away with the present-day landlordism not as Mr. Henry George while advocating State-production would wish by turning the present landlords into mere paid State-servants like land-agents and tax-collectors, but by making the tenant-farmers get possession of the land they cultivate by the sweat of their brow. Indeed the tenants of to-day are the landlords of to-morrow. The modern tendency has been, like all characteristic commercialism to narrow down the land-owning interest so that land should pass into fewer hands of the monopolist class, and we must counteract this by all means . . . . by placing all the tenants to-day on the road to the ownership of their cultivated land and thus bringing as many family-units in touchness with land as possible. . . .

. . . . "Let us here also add, that by our theory, (*vide* theories of loan and private ownership as applied to State-production) the whole change of conditions could be brought slowly and gradually without needing to raise the whirlwind of a revolution except for a desirable revolution in ideas brought about by a right conception of our theories."

Now our above suggestions not only embody the spirit of Communalism in so far as they emphasise the need of placing a joint-family on a land-basis or keeping it in touchness with land, but they also embody the spirit of decentralisation of land-capital by counteracting the monopolistic expropriation of land by the capitalist-class, and yet our scheme does not hamper progress by taking away the stimulus of self-interest that lies in individualism. The ideal of the land-basis (*i.e.*, the so-called regional economics) is also, more or less, recommended by the conventional economists. Thus we have from Professor Marshall in praise of the existence of very small holdings:—

"They increase the number of people who are working in the open air with their heads and their hands; they give to the agricultural labourer a stepping-stone upwards, prevent him from being compelled to leave agriculture to find some scope for his ambition, and thus check the great evil of the continued flow of the ablest and bravest farm lads to the towns. They break the monotony of existence, they give a healthy change from indoor life, they offer scope for variety of character and for the play of fancy and imagination in the arrangement of individual life; they afford a counter-attraction to the grosser and baser pleasures; they often enable a family to hold together that would otherwise have to separate; under favourable conditions they improve considerably the material conditions of the worker; and they diminish the fretting as well as the positive loss caused by the inevitable interruptions of their ordinary work."

In the words of another economist, C. S. Devas, "What indeed would be necessary would be a corresponding multiplication of *miniature* agricultural industry,

namely, that every cottage of every worker on the colossal farms or in the factories should have its rood of land attached to it for the proper life and work of all the members of the family." Again, the same is the underlying spirit in Professor Pigou's recommendation (vide *Wealth and Welfare*, p. 10) of Mr. Lever's proposed reform of prosperity-sharing instead of profit-sharing by the factory-labourers. Our suggestions would be to solve the Housing problem by the collective movement on the part of the city and town-corporations, so that all the rented houses should ultimately come to be owned by them; and in this we would be, in fact, giving charge of that subject only to the local body or the community, which in the nature of things is always on a territorial basis. Our scheme would also be aimed at communalising industry, if we may so use the term, in the sense that the local community of labour should ultimately come to inherit its natural right of control as well as ownership over the capital on which it was employed, thereby effecting the cure of that most unnatural state of things existing in the present society—the divorce of labour from its tools or instruments of production. Our argument in support of such a measure would be best conveyed in the words of Professor Macgregor, the Drummond Professor of Economics, taken from his Inaugural Lecture at Oxford, 1922, and entitled "Motives and Standards in Industry":—

"The question of status is that of the right to control industry. Why should this vest in the distant shareholder who has never seen the business, and not in those whose mental or physical labour operates it? There is a powerful demand for a review of this position. It has been suggested that in the end the positions will be reversed, that the nearer service of labour will employ capital, paying it off at a fixed rate, and governing the industry itself. One can imagine under these conditions a meeting on Tower Hill, presided over perhaps by Lord——, of sweated capitalists, to protect against the reduction of the rate from 2 per cent. to 1½, and demand a Trade Board. . . .

"It is not enough to say that capital takes control of industry because it takes the financial risk; that is a tautology, that capital takes the risk of capital."

However, the kind of transference to public ownership, as we would advocate, would be more akin to Syndicalism—which advocates the control of industry to be vested in the "C.G.T.", the General Confederation of Labour—than to the local trade-guild organisations contemplated under Communalism ; in fact, a right scheme would be to carry on State-production under the supervision and guidance of the "technicians" employed by the various departments of industries, which it is already the tendency of the modern States to open. And this can be feasible only after we have admitted the right of labour to make an equitable recompense to the capitalist owners in order to purchase their constructive right of ownership, which would thereafter be vested in the State. We are at this point persuaded to quote a few lines adumbrating some of the principles of State-production from our book, *The Labour Problem* :—

"Man becomes civilised as more and more he recognises the value of fixed capital in production. Capital we know is a necessary concomitant of every trade and profession, more or less, from the lowest to the highest—that is no doubt too true; but when that same capital assumes the enormous power of the machinery-giant with its multiplying-function, it becomes unsafe in private hands and there begins the downward decline of civilisation until that capital is decentralized once more and the cycle completed. . . .

"Thus we may limit a certain capital-value—say, that which could be utmost afforded by a person having the income of minimum-comfort-wage—beyond which all private concerns should pass to State-ownership; and this could be easily done by the application of our Loan theory. . . . . Any private capitalisation in trade need not be combated by the State, as we have shown before it is a middleman's work of distribution only, and again any capitalistic monopoly in that direction too could be easily overcome by the opening of Co-operative stores in each place at first

to be subscribed by public money and patronised by the public, but that too afterwards passing to State control and ownership (to be transferred as a local subject) as its share-money might be redeemed by its dividends declared, and after which they would be like State-shops, impossible to compete with by any private capitalistic enterprise. Of course, business on a small scale, as we say "within certain limits" whether relating to trade or production, should always be left for private competition and no change need be introduced in our present state of affairs."

Taken from another place (p. 139, *Ibid*):—

"Thus in the case of a private concern that can no more take further capital, and of which the private capitalists have been paid off from its profits, the State-department can very well carry on the same business allowing the same old hands to work the plant, for after all, it is the labour employed that does everything and not the capitalist body that has changed hands. And so, as long as efficient labourers can be got to make it a success it is all very well for that State-department, which will derive all the profits of that concern. Now, granting so far, the question arises what will the State-department do with the profits of those State-owned-and-worked concerns?

"Now remember that every industry supplies a certain want of the community; and also of the whole capital of the community only a certain fraction can flow to one industry according to the degree of its need to the community.

"Now if more than a certain amount of capital is invested on one industry, it would cease to draw interest on it. So that if sufficient capital has already been invested in one line, the State-department of that line must have no business to invest more of State-capital in that line, and hence all the future profits derived from that line should be passed on by that State-department to the central government, which can decide best as to which line has a deficiency of invested capital, of course always working in the best interest of the community. Thus also, at times when more capital would be required to be invested on agricultural department, the State could transfer the surplus from other lines. Imagine the picture well, and the consequent Millennium it would bring in its train!"

At any rate, it must be admitted that the economic basis of the present-day society is a fundamental fact, which need not be abhorred as the learned expounder of

Communalism would have us do, but calls for a solution equal to the need by means of a decentralisation of capital on an economic basis, and not by disrupting all economic bonds now cohering our society through a territorial isolation of small communities, as was true of the medieval times. Capital is now a cosmopolitan factor of production since it has the greatest mobility, and we ought to be able to fight out the evils of capitalism, which it brings in its train, by an equally scientific means. Thus we have from Mr. Norman Angell (vide *The Great Illusion*) :—

" Never at any stage of the world's development has there existed as exists to-day the machinery for embodying these interests and class-ideas and ideals which cut across frontiers. It is not generally understood how many of our activities have become international. Two great forces have become internationalized: Capital on the one hand, Labour and Socialism on the other."

". . . In no department of human activity is internationalisation so complete as in finance. The capitalist has no country, and he knows, if he be of the modern type, that arms and conquests and jugglery in the frontiers serve no ends of his, and may very well defeat them."

The point is further pushed in our book (*Ibid.*, p. 173) as follows:—

" If the case put by Mr. Norman Angell about the economic interdependence among modern nationalities is well-established, if again as corroborated by Mr. T. Baty, " The real interests of modern people are not national but social "—or say socio-economic; might we not conclude that it would be a step forward to make that economic interdependence still more complete under a common commercial government of the League of Nations. From the very beginning of the machinery-era economic interests bound up in an increasing degree all other interests, until finally an economic unification of all the nationalities round a common centre would beat hollow all possible combinations of military power, for money is a great sinews of war. . . . Let the League of Nations issue its one currency the world over and let the control of production be vested into it, so that instead of the State control of industries we think in terms of the League of Nations. Let all the profits accruing from the industrial organisations on the basis

of our theory go to the League of Nations, which will of course be after the maximum point of investment is reached in any line and the ownership of the multiplying-organisation has passed entirely from the private capitalists to the State—then, the League of Nations would be best able to regulate and manipulate all surplus profits so as to be employed in the most needed industry—say, for the agricultural development. As we have seen in such a process there is no likelihood of any unusual tampering with individual choice and preference for any kind of industry, either before or after the complete ownership of the State or League of Nations, except say in the rarest of cases when "exceptions prove the rule," we may fairly expect that even if any changes be proposed to be made by the State, they will be always for the betterment of the labour employed, as well as in the best interest of the whole humanity."

Now that we close this paper here, let us reiterate our faith in the trio-combination of reforms that we should like to introduce in our State-machine: (1) Simplification of the State-machine, (2) Decentralisation of capital, (3) Breaking up of all monopolies.

PART IV. A PLEA FOR A JUST AND HUMANE THEORY OF INTEREST.

What is that disease, or the most virulent part of it, which is eating into the vitals of the present society? In a word, it is termed Capitalism, and what is implied by that most dreaded term, is, on the face of it, a certain class of capitalists bred up by our industrial system. And questioned as to wherein lies the strongest citadel of that privileged class, we shall have to admit, that its mainstay is the permanent title to existence of their interest-bearing capital. Quoting upon this the high testimony of Professor Taussig, we have (*Ples. of Econ.*, Vol. II, p. 42):—

> "Interest is an inalienable outcome of private property. Interest-yielding property thus the outcome of inequality, itself promotes and maintains inequality. Not only those who receive it are put in possession of greater present means, but, what is more important, they are enabled to perpetuate their own and their children's favoured position as earners of income. The social stratification of our time, the separation of the well-to-do classes from the non-possessing, is supported and strengthened by the income from existing possessions. The leisured class has emerged as the consequence of interest, and tends to perpetuate itself and enlarge itself through the receipt of interest."

The same 'conventional' economists further advice us: 'Do not interfere with our theory of interest, because it is mathematically correct and based on "perfect" justice of the laws of Supply and Demand. You may make modifications in the present system of distribution, such as, by regulating taxation, but let alone the scientific basis of the system—which is 'interest.' Here

we have the word of warning in Dr. Cassell's excellent treatise on *Theory of Interest*, pp. 182-83 (Macmillan & Co.):—

". . . . . . A good many well-intentioned persons who have devoted their lives to the solution of the social question have wasted their energy in semi-scientific attempts to prove its wrongfulness. If once the question were thoroughly cleared up, the same energetic criticism might be directed towards the really weak points in the present scheme of distribution, with immense advantage to social progress.

". . . . Much of the antagonism to interest is in reality a disapproval not of interest as a form of income, but of that distribution of property which makes so great a part of the interest income of the community flow into the pockets of some few privileged individuals. That the individual is able to draw from the community an income sufficient to lead a life of comfort and even of luxury, without devoting to the community in return any personal labour of his own, will always be regarded as a fundamental immorality! But this view involves primarily a condemnation of such institutions as make it possible for a person to come into great wealth which he has not earned, or has earned too easily, or without corresponding efforts of social usefulness. Social reformers therefore will first have to direct their action against the laws of inheritance and the "unearned increment" of the rent of land, these being the two principal opportunities for men coming into wealth created by other persons or by the community: second, against all forms of monopolies natural and artificial, facilitating the acquiring of large fortunes. To complain of the inevitable fact that large interest goes with large capital is senseless; to attack the very roots of the unequal distribution of property is at least intelligible."

But the laws of taxation and inheritance in which the economists advise us to pin our faith for reform are themselves so arbitrary, that in a self-moving and self-working system, as ours is, any serious attempt to modify a wrong distribution of income and of property would be highly unpopular and mischievous. If on the contrary, we can base our reform on equitable principles and on a scientific basis in the very theory of interest, there could be no happier consummation. We ought to be first of all convinced of the fact that a perpetual income derived by

capitalists from their constructive ownership of interest-yielding property, is not always a justifiable income in the light of the paramount necessity of the community. Our aim to be achieved is that the unnatural divorce of labour from its tools must be remedied by communalising the ownership of the instruments of production, and our method for the attainment of this end is to apply a socialistic and most equitable check on the right to derive interest in perpetuity from the invested or loaned capital. We claim further that our theory would be found of such a universal nature as to apply generally to all monopoly revenues, rents and profits. We do not disguise the fact that a certain revolution would have to be effected in our conception of the ideas of ownership, which we believe to be of an artificial creation only, but on the other hand the equity of the measure contemplated as well as the compelling necessity of the community would have made a strong case to appeal to us. We have the authority of Professor Macgregor on the historical view of the question:—(Taken from his address reproduced in *Economic Journal*, March, 1923):—

"For historical reasons, if for no other, this is a proper question to raise. There ought to be scrutiny of the credentials, because of the conditions under which capitalism grew up. Taking 1770 as the beginning of the industrial revolution, there followed a whole century of industrial formation before the foundation of public education, a public franchise, and the definite acceptance of free bargaining. All these arose about 1870, by which industry was fixed and set in the form of shareholders' control and the wage relation. This century of unequal development means that it is *very possible* that the industrial result is biassed; so that a review of it is natural. . . . And such (profit-sharing) schemes grown with the growth of modern industry, beginning when it was still plastic, the holding of capital, and the control thereby obtained, might now have been a very different thing. The unequal development of the industrial and other sides of national life ought to prevent any merely fatalistic acceptance of the nature of modern industrial control."

While we want to give by all means a reasonable reward to the services of capital or the function of waiting in production, we take away its monopolistic right to usurp and swallow away all the future rights of labour to its tools of production, by vesting in itself a presumed title of ownership which confers on that capital the unlimited right to draw its supplies of revenues by way of a permanent title to interest. Where to draw the line for the just and due share of reward of that capital is the question for us to determine, and if even some sacrifice is entailed consequently, we hope it would be justified by the greater gain accruing to public welfare.

Let us make it clear that we do not mean to question the validity of interest, nor by any means that of the market rate of interest as determined by the equilibrium of *marginal* demand for and supply of capital. We also grant the modern definition of interest, that it is the just price of waiting, and as such a function of both the amount lent and the time for which it is lent. We would, however, demand quite a different sacrifice from the lender.

The first is quite a simple one as based on a simple rule of equity. It is that the lender should be paid back his capital or loan not *en masse*, but just as the regular interest is paid, *i.e.*, by broken payments determined at the will of the borrower. This rule is to be clearly recognised in theory and no stipulation to the contrary should be valid. Surely, every unit of money that goes to make up the total sum borrowed should be taken to possesss its separate entity as a loan, whereas the capitalist ought not to give up his saving habit and should thereby be prepared to hoard up the broken-payments made to him for his loaned capital once again. The question of time during which the lender stipulates to keep the loan outstanding, we shall leave aside to consider later on, but during that stipulated time at any rate, the debt must be redeemable

by any instalment payments, small or large, at the option of the borrower, provided that he also pays up-to-date interest on the last remaining capital of the loan. This rule is also observed in daily practice in Co-operative banking, yet the law does not specifically enforce it in the interest of the borrower as under the present anti-usurious Acts in force the lender is not bound to accept any part-payments of his loan, and so as a rule he knows his interest best not to accept such broken payments. We know that if a person advances a loan to another on some good security, he would not care to get back his money so long the security is safe and sufficient in the eye of the lender to cover his capital, for he has advanced it in order to earn something, and he would willingly keep it out of his custody so long as it is a safe investment. We may quote here the true definition of usury as understood in the medieval period (see p. 31, Meredith's *Econ. His. of Eng.*) :—

"The acceptance of a price for a loan, when full security for return of the money was given, was called usury. It was condemned by religion, and usually forbidden to Christians by the State or municipality."

Again, in the words of Professor Cassell, who also eliminates the consideration of risk for purposes of a theoretical investigation:

"Lending money on first mortgage on real property may be taken as a type of the kind of waiting we have in view here. There is practically no risk in it; the lender can get his money back again on giving the stipulated notice, or he may transfer the security to a third person; only his security has not the extra and artificial advantage of being introduced on the Stock Exchange and dealt with there every day."

Evidently, then, the lender himself could not or did not want to employ his capital productively and so lent it out, and he parted with his money in order to earn some-

thing sitting at ease. Now let us see from the view-point of the borrower. He borrows the money, perhaps, let us assume, to employ it productively in some trade or industry, and he is enabled to pay a certain rate of interest to his creditor out of a larger dividend or profits that he makes for himself from his own management of his trade or industry. After he has invested the borrowed money in his trade, a time may never come when he should hope to regain the invested amount in a lump whole, but if it does return, it will come out only by broken incomes like money-interest. Wherein, then, lies the justification of it, that he should be liable to pay back the lump whole to his creditor at any moment demanded by him and yet not be allowed as a matter of right to pay back the principal by means of any broken payments, whatever?

Now so far the sacrifice demanded of the capitalists was practically nothing as compared to the next one, that we would propose as another socialistic check. Let us first discuss the scientific basis of the ancient Hindu theory of loan, called Damdupat's theory, which prescribed a rough and ready rule, that interest, in order to be justifiable income, was to be paid only until it doubled the original principal lent, and no more. Also, another inter pretation of the rule, which was generally enforced in practice in the Hindu Native States till recently, was that the courts of law should not decree at any time more than double the principal of the original transaction entered into by the parties to a suit, and in this respect it was an anti-usurious rule of law. We need not, however, enter into a needless controversy between the two interpretations of Damdupat's rule, as it will suffice for our purposes to examine the socialistic principle, embodied in the first interpretation.

Now, examining the rule in terms of the analysis made by the conventional or mathematical economists, we

know that the service of uncertainty-bearing or risk is distinguished as a factor of production from the waiting service of capital. The latter service is paid up for by what is termed the economic rate of interest. Now it may be argued that the higher rate of interest charged to cover the insecurity of the loan was not a justifiable charge, if afterwards it was found that the creditor could recover back his principal with the due economic interest; that allowance must be made for the surplus charge made on account of risk when that risk has been fulfilled by the returns made in course of time. For instance, suppose a person were to advance a loan of Rs. 100 to another on 24 per cent. rate of interest, which is quite a common rate of interest decreed by the courts in India. In case interest is being regularly paid at the end of each year for five years, the borrower would have paid Rs. 120, *i.e.*, Rs. 20 above the original principal lent. Now assuming the economic rate of interest to have been 4 per cent p. a., the economic interest for five years would have amounted to Rs. 20. Hence, it follows in the given example that the lender ought to have been deemed paid back all his dues by way of interest payments only in five years' time, but the actual fact is that he still demands his full capital outstanding. Now, to such a contention the answer is found easily enough by the conventional economists, inasmuch as if no reward is made for the risk or uncertainty-bearing after the risk has been found to be over, what should happen in those cases in which the risk is not justified by the gains, but results in a loss? Taking, for example, the case of a pawner we see that he charges a high rate of interest to cover the risk taken by him, and the high charges so made for risk from his various debtors in a way go to insure one against the other any loss incurred or likely to be incurred by him on account of dishonesty. Thus, the risk-bearing function is not merely of the nature

of gambling or speculation, but becomes a regular profession recognised at law in which the profits accruing from certain dealings go to insure against the losses likely to result from other such risk-bearing dealings. Free competition and concentration of such transactions into the hands of certain capitalists would tend to lower down the charges or premia for such risk-bearing service. This would be a sound and satisfactory course of reasoning to most economists, but while agreeing in the main with the view that the service of risk-bearing has got to be rewarded, we shall point when and how it becomes equally necessary to apply the socialistic check.

How far does the insurance theory above alluded to apply in cases of actual personal transactions entered into between the borrowers and creditors, and how many money-lenders could be actually found who would be calculating the rate of extra premia charged for their risk-bearing service on the actuarial basis of insurance, and how many of them had to do with enough number of such risk-involving transactions simultaneously entered into to justify the extra gains on the insurance theory—are some of the questions which would directly suggest the obvious conclusion that each transaction of loan ought to be treated as in every way a distinct and separate transaction and not even the biggest money-lending firms, *e.g.*, banks, could be exactly said to grade up their rates of interest according to each security having any regard whatever to anything like the insurance premia. Now according to the double-return rule of Damdupat the broken payments of interest do not stop as soon as the principal of the loan is paid up together with the economic rate of interest, but the payments continue further on until the principal is exactly doubled. The excess over the economic rate of interest plus the principal may thus be taken to be an adequate compensation of the risk-bearing service. And this excess

payment is not a uniform rate for all kinds of risk—great and small—but differs proportionately in terms of time-rate instead of both price-rate and time-rate. For if you charge a higher rate of interest as surely justified by the greater risk run by you you will gain your due in point of time as you will be the sooner paid the double of your capital by way of interest payments only. In all justice, the risk taken has been paid for in time-rate in so far as the higher rate of interest made it possible for the loan to have been made up for in a shorter time, and hence the principal thus realized was now free to be employed elsewhere in another investment. You cannot take advantage of both the time-rate as well as the price-rate; that is the underlying principle of Damdupat's double-return rule.

Reverting back to the instance taken above, where interest being calculated for five years at the rate of 24 per cent. it was found to cover the principal together with due economic interest for the period, what we should find in accordance with the double-return rule at the end of 8 years and 4 months, is that after deducting about Rs. 33 for the economic interest—supposed to be 4 per cent.—of 8 years and 4 months, the excess that remains over is about Rs. 67 which calculates out as interest of about 8 per cent. p.m. on account of risk. Is this compensation for risk not quite fair we ask on your insurance theory? or, is that fair, indeed, that at the end of these 8 years when interest has been regularly paid at the stipulated rate of 24 per cent., you have still your claim for the principal lent out as well as at any time before.

Below we give a table calculating out the compensation for risk that would be meted out on the basis of the Damdupat's rule being adopted :—

Serial No.	Rate of int. p.m.	Rate of int. p.a.	Time taken for payment.	Economic rate of interest assumed.	Compensation for risk.	Remarks.
1	¼ %	3 %	66⅔ yrs.	3 %	Loss.	Rule should not apply.
2	½ %	6 %	33⅓ ,,	3 %	Zero.	Applies to cases involving no risk, *e.g.*, Public Debt, etc.
3	¾ %	9 %	22 2/7 ,,	3 %	1·5 %	
4	1 %	12 %	16⅔ ,,	3 %	3 %	
5	1¼ %	15 %	13⅓ ,,	3 %	4½ %	
6	1½ %	18 %	11 1/9 ,,	3 %	6 %	
7	1¾ %	21 %	9 11/21 ,,	3 %	7½ %	
8	2 %	24 %	8⅓ ,,	3 %	9 %	
9	2½ %	30 %	6⅔ ,,	3 %	12 %	
10	3 %	36 %	5 5/9 ,,	3 %	15 %	

Now, over and above this much of compensation for risk which is quite graded up with the corresponding rates of interest so long as the economic rate of interest is assumed to be a constant, what moral or equitable justification can there be for letting the lender charge his extortionate rates of interest for an indefinite time after the risk run has been adequately justified and compensated for by way of interest payments only? We know that in the case of ordinary private loans all that a lender bargains for is the higher rate of interest which he can squeeze out of his needy debtor and his charges can only be pressed down by the competitive terms offered by similar other money-lenders. In such a case, we do not object to even the highest rates of interest to which the debtor may have

agreed to, but we nevertheless deem it absolutely equitable and essential for the public weal that the same debtor might be protected after he had made a certain amount of return of loan by way of interest payment only. And then it should not be lost sight of that according to our thesis also there is some gain left to the lender according to the degree of risk taken by him, and that is by *time-rate* instead of price-rate, in other words, as we have already pointed out the lender's money becomes the sooner free when paid up at a higher rate of interest. It is not 'equality' that we preach but that is simple justice. Who can deny that ample cases can be found in actual practice when the security under question may be a perfect one, yet an extortionately high rate of interest is charged for an indefinite time from the poor resourceless debtor? What happens in the present state of things of *laissez-faire* is that moneylenders generally make indefinite gains out of unfortunate borrowers on the score of what is called uncertainty-bearing, and whatever the risk may be, the luck invariably seems to side with the former. In no case, therefore, you can be justified in gaining more than double of your loaned capital, although it is always open to the borrower to either compound the double of the loan, or to pay it down on the old system with the interest up-to-date—whichever be the cheaper way for him.

We shall, further, plead that in all cases in which the transaction of a loan happens to be independent of the question of time, which the borrower may take to redeem it, as for instance, in the case of Government stocks, or other public debt, or in fact whenever the security for the loan is amply and freely negotiable in the market, the principal of the loan should be considered redeemed by the regular payment of interest according to the Double Return rule, even though the loans may be obtainable for just double the present economic rate of interest.

Again, as for those capitalist employers who may be combining in themselves all the three functions—that of a capitalist, a brainworker and an uncertainty-bearer—it may be said that after their capital has been paid for its services in the ordinary course according to our theory of State-production, there can be found one hundred and one ways to reward them personally for their services of organising ability or of uncertainty-bearing. Surely, there could be no higher well-merited reward conferred by the community on any pioneer of industry than that he be paid for the rest of his life of retirement (and even some generations of his progeny) the minimum comfort wage out of the future profits earned by the same old labour and capital once employed by him.

Now, before giving a definite outline of our scheme of a rational legal code to regulate interest, let us first answer two important questions that go to the fundamentals of our thesis: (1) What is the bearing of the economic rate of interest in the light of our proposed socialistic measures? (2) Why have we demanded any sacrifice at all from the capitalist class?

We shall take up the second question first. Let us make it perfectly clear that by "Sacrifice" we simply mean the giving up of that unjustifiable part of the capitalist's income, which he could certainly bargain for in this age of *laissez-faire*, which allowed free play to forces of self-interest but which nevertheless was at the cost of communal welfare, whereas we should not in the least grudge to concede a due and just share of reward to the services of capital, while also allowing a free play to the forces of Supply and Demand to effect an economic equilibrium *within certain limits.* Our aim must be to consciously guide and regulate the action of the hidden economic forces working under the regime of *laissez-faire*, so that the services of capital in production may be duly and

justly appraised and its exploitative tendencies be curbed. Here let us take the liberty of quoting a few interesting remarks made by Professor Cassell in his treatise on *Interest*, which will establish our case for the need of applying Socialistic checks to the same theory of interest which the learned Professor holds good on what he calls the " Cost Principle " and against which he has given us a word of warning of " touch me not." We have on pp. 75-76 (*Ibid.*) :—

" It should be observed that there is always some room for what may be called the " Communistic principle."

". . . . . We know to-day that what we have called the Cost Principle can never be realised by Free Competition alone. We know that Free Competition is in many cases impossible, and that the essential assumption of free competition throughout the entire economic society is an illusion. The modern school of Social reformers has given economic policy a much broader scope, and has taken a great many different social forces into its service."

Might we not add in the same vein, that the " Cost Principle " is very far from being realised as regards the just price of capital under Free Competition; that like the lowest ranks of labour the class of so-called borrowers would be found to comprise of the most needy and destitute of men who are chronic sufferers from the evils of parasiticism and exploitation; and so they, if anybody, should be the first and foremost to require the protection of the law; further, that the benefits of any modern social policy to which the learned Professor has alluded in other connection, were so far absolutely forbidden to the class of borrowers and could not be even formulated in any classical treatises on the subject of interest? The realisation of the " Cost Principle " in the matter of the price of capital, which will be just sufficient to induce the savings of capital to be made in order to be forthcoming, is not the only aim of a rationalistic economic policy, but it should further seek its end in making a just and proper distribu-

tion of reward for all the capital that has come to supply the communal need, and in penalising any cases in which more than its due share of reward is overdrawn by any unit of capital whatsoever. The point will be further cleared up on a perusal of the practical proposals that we shall make later on in drawing up such a Socialistic scheme of interest on a scientific basis. We will even go a step further to submit that if even any real sacrifice is demanded from the capitalist class beyond what is dictated by considerations of absolute justice, in the interest of the general community, we shall still be justified in exercising the community's right of eminent domain, and need have no reason to disguise the fact. As an instance, where the right of eminent domain can be most advantageously exercised by the community in accordance with our theory of State-production based on the double-return rule, the following press-extract taken from the recent literature issued from the Labour Party in England, while fighting the last British elections, as coming from Major D. Graham Pole, will be read with profit:

" As an instance of how the present system is not worked in the interest of the whole community, I may quote the following figures relating to the coal mining industry in this country. It will be remembered that Mr. Justice Sankey, at the Coal Industry Commission in 1919 said: 'The present system of ownership and working in the coal industry stands condemned.' Look at these figures:—

Total Capital Employed in the Coal Industry.

Export Estimate given in Census of production 1907	£128 millions.
Export Estimate given at Coal Industry Commision in 1919	£135' millions.

Profits and Royalties paid by Coal Industry during past ten years.

Year	Amount	Year	Amount	Year	Amount.
1914	... 21·5 M.	1918	35·5 M.	1922	16·8 M.
1915	... 27·4 M.	1919	36·4 M.	1923	33 M.
1916	... 43·8 M.	1920	41 M.		
1917	... 33·7 M.	1921	6 M.		
			Total	265·1 Millions.	

It will be seen that the amount of profits and royalties taken out of the coal industry during the past ten years has been *more than double* the amount of the total capital employed in the coal industry. The work of the Labour Party for such a state of things is entirely to reorganise the industry on the basis of public ownership of the mines and minerals, and by the elimination of waste in production and distribution, the introduction of the most scientific methods of winning coal, and the cutting out of the parasitic mineral owners, mine-owners, and middlemen, to ensure to the workers a proper standard of living, together with a voice in the control of the industry. How different is that point of view from the concern expressed by the Conservative and Liberal press for what is known as 'Big Business.'

The Sunday Times, for example, asks its readers plaintively, 'Do we want a reconstruction of the entire social order?' And then proceeds to show where its passion for social justice lies by asking what sort of a chance will manufacturers stand by holding their own against the competition of all comers in such a reconstruction, and expressing its view that the most urgent of national problems is to reduce the costs of production—a somewhat facetious term used by 'Big Business' for lowering the wages of the workers! Trade and industry have their place in the life of a nation, but that place is in the service of the community, and the community is no longer prepared to lower its standard of life in the interests of business."

We hope, further, our object in demanding any sacrifice of self-interest from the capitalists would be appreciated in the light of the following lines quoted from our book (*Ibid.*, p. 35 infra) :—

"The advantage that a lender gives to the borrower is of his accumulated capital. . . . Without lending it, it would have been 'dead capital' and by lending it he has given to the borrower the

benefit of the concentrated power of money. For remember, the rôle of capital in any production is to connect the labourer with his tools—sometimes highly-efficient tools, such as steam-power and with the other necessary stock; it also acts as leaven to the whole organisation—no more, no less. In a word, capital is the bridge, the connecting link between the labourer and the materials upon which his labour would play, so as to be conducive to make it productive; and it is hired because of its concentrated power . . .

"We would first of all, in this connection, show from the nature and function of capital, that it does not exert any directing force, as likely to be misunderstood, on the production of wealth from one particular line or profession as against another; but it is simply a measure of value of the demand in that line. . . . . .

"Now with a limited produce of the real wealth of the country, it is accordingly divided out in limited quantity among the various professions according to the degree of their need, as of course depending upon the law of Supply and Demand. No arbitration sits for the purpose of such a division of the real financial wealth of the country, which is allowed to take place of itself, but nevertheless, it is exactly in proportion to the need of a particular profession to the whole community. Now suppose an immense quantity of more capital were to be invested in a certain line or profession, what would happen? As the need of that profession to the community would remain the same as before, the same share of the country's limited wealth would continue to flow to support the profession, and hence the excess of the invested capital in that line would not bear proportional interest, and hence would have to be removed to some other line in order to be productive. Hence, we see that the investment of capital in any line did not direct any greater share of country's wealth to come to that line as a whole, except perhaps for making for a shifting of fortunes within the ranks of the same line. In fact, the directing force came from the community itself of which the changing needs were studied and even new ones created by some individual labourers and not surely by any amount of capital—hence to deduce, if you please after all, that labour comes first and capital next; that labour is subjective and capital objective in the production of wealth, and never surely, like that 'capital attracts labour.' And if at this you mean to retort back that, well, 'capital attracts labour' is at any rate true of application within the same class, we would say that these are the old juggler's tricks and after all, the community would not much longer stand it. . . . . .

"However, let us come back to our discussion on the nature of a loan. We have tried to show so far that capital occupies a subsidiary position to labour in the production of wealth—labourer first and his tools afterwards; and if it is not wholly true of the modern machinery-era, we hope to make it possible to remove the unnatural growth in the new system. We repeat that the only exceptional advantage which capital possessed was of its concentrated power—otherwise, it was simply like any other commodity, ordinary money, a measure of value and medium of exchange. Now if we allow this concentrated power to grow unchecked, it becomes a menace to the welfare of the whole community. From a serpent in the glove it soon developes into a tyrannical giant. As we know that capital must be consumed in order to be productive, so also we must further recognise that in order that the capital giant be a blessing to the community, its personality must be thoroughly shaken, nay! even broken and laid low to the ground, before it may gather its nourishment and thus by passing through a severest ordeal of time may it recover its individuality with renewed and redoubled vigour and energy for the benefaction of the human race."[1]

We now come to the second question. What is meant by the economic rate of interest? Let us follow it from *reductio ad absurdum.* The economists rightly tell us that the rate of interest cannot sink down to zero in a modern progressive State because of progress in society, which means in Economics the growth of capital necessitated (1) owing to increase in population and (2) improvements and inventions in arts. In the light of these two reasons Professor Cassell draws the following conclusion (p. 178, *Theory of Interest*):—

"These considerations show that progress is nothing short of a categorical imperative which the community must obey, irrespective of the forms it chooses to give its economic organisation. . . . . . Let us suppose the community to increase its capital every year 1 per cent. on account of the growth of population, and 1½ per cent. on account of real progress. This is probably not more than what is very often done by our present society."

We may thus take for granted that about 3 per cent. rate of interest would give sufficient inducement to the

marginal savers to meet the efficient demand of capital of the community, as also evidenced by the history of nineteenth and twentieth centuries; and further that the highly useful function that saving of capital performs is to lead to progress in society which is a ' categorical imperative ' in the words of Dr. Cassell. Now progress in society is a very desirable end indeed, and any inducement which needs to be offered to the capitalists to have the necessary savings forthcoming, finds ample justification in progress to which it may be conducive. But what actually happens during the culmination of a crisis, which has now become a periodical phenomenon of modern industry, tells a different tale altogether. During such time there is a set-back in the pendulum of progress ; further production of commodities is suspended for a time, the stocks and capital being made to reduce by all artificial means in order to remove the maladjustment between the investments made in the various industries with a view to effect a revolution in the industrial arts of production—called Progress.

Now, risk of loss is compensated for by the gain in interest, hence, that alone cannot confer a title to permanent ownership over a multiplying-organisation or the capitalistic instruments of production ; whereas, the risk of unemployment to the labourer is not the less. The gain in order to justify itself must not indeed be limitless and perpetual. A limit must be fixed at which the gains would have compensated for the risk taken and thenceforward the private ownership of the instruments of production must cease, giving place to a transference of ownership to the labourers and actually vesting in the State. The service rendered at first by private capital in building up a new industry must not be allowed to become parasitical aiming at the exploitation of labour, but must be constructive and wholesome to the community-at-large. Private

capital, thus disengaged after being paid off for its services, may perform the same useful function of development elsewhere, and so on and so forth—inaugurating the era of a veritable Millennium. Let us quote here the following pertinent remarks made in the Preface of our book (*Ibid*) :—

" Think of the enormous, nay fabulous amount of shipments of bullion sent from Europe to United States of America in payment, not of the war loan proper but as mere interest on it. Again, as to how long the title to existence of interest-bearing capital continues is indefinite, as we would see, in the case of investments of rich countries abroad, and which investment is made in the beneficient interest of the country ' required to be developed,' whereas, in effect, it is made a means of its exploitation.

" Take the case of England and we would quote the following from the *Theory of the Foreign Exchanges* by the Rt. Hon. Viscount (now Lord) Goschen :—

" The interest and commissions which are still paid by almost every country to English capitalists, certainly form a noticeable element in the revenue by which England is enabled to discharge her enormous foreign liabilities." Again, " The large sums which England receives every year in payment of interest from foreign countries, considerably reduce the balance which, notwithstanding our enormous exportation, is almost always against us; the foreign loans negotiated in England increase her indebtedness at the time when they are contracted; but the annual revenues subsequently derived from them contributes towards its reduction."

" It is through their confirmation and patronisation of this ' exploiting fraud ' of the ' advanced ' nations of the West, that the League of Nations, otherwise the most ennobling institution that was the direct product of the last war, was not spared the well-deserved calumny contained in the words of M. Korniloff, the erstwhile dictator of the Soviet Republic, that

' It was a band of bankers, bourgeoisie and banditti ' and this blot was even more justifiable by later events in the light of the ravenous spirit shown by the Great Powers in the matter of settlement of the question of ' mandatories.' We venture to say, that nothing less than the adoption of our loan theory could wipe out the stigma."

From another place :—

" Thus it is that we take strong objection to the permanent title to existence of interest-bearing capital. As for the net gain ensuing from such a change of faith, we shall point to only one, among many others, that the spirit of your capitalist class would have from that day changed altogether, and their so-called intoxication from money-power gone for good and all, as we have had in the East. Then a higher Brahmanaic class of true savants of humanity would have arisen above the ' Vaishya ' or the capitalist class, and the following injunctions of the Indo-Aryan law-giver, Manu, would have borne fruit :—

" Manu's Vaishya gathers and holds wealth only for the use of others, not for his own luxury; and if he should start factories using machinery, it should be not in the individualist but co-operation spirit, as if it were a State-business not his own."

(Trans. from Mahabharata, Shanti, Chap. XXV, by Babu Bhagwan Das in his *Science of Social Organisation* or *The Laws of Manu.*)

Summary.

In the end, let us present a brief synopsis of our scheme which we should like to be codified into law.

I. Up to 15 per cent. rate of interest per annum the double-return rule would not be applied and we shall propose no alteration to be made in the present system, save that the principal may be returnable by any broken payments made at the option of the borrower before he is sued for the debt, and when he is actually sued the courts of law would exercise their discretion to pass an instalment decree in cases where the security be deemed sufficient and the lender be found to have sued his debtor too soon. In such a case instalments shall be given in much the same way for the satisfaction of the decree as if the double-return rule had been applicable. For rates of interest above 15 per cent. per annum the double-return rule would be compulsorily enforced and the money-lender could not be allowed to get a court decree except according to the

double-return rule. There is no arbitrariness in fixing 15 per cent. limit beyond which our double-return rule will apply, for on considerations of convenience on the one side and equity on the other, a contract for thirteen and a half years nearly, at the most, is as nothing compared to a lifetime's schemings. At the commonly charged usurious rate of interest, *i.e.*, 24 per cent. it will take only 8½ years at the most to settle a loan on the double-return rule. It, however, goes without saying that any instalment of interest not paid makes the debtor liable for the recovery of the whole loan unless the lender desires compound interest and judges the security to be good enough for that. Any interference with the security should also make the debtor liable to be sued.

II. No public debt of any kind should be advanced except on the explicit condition of double-return rule, although it would come to the same thing if the principal of the loan be paid back in broken form in any convenient fractions, still we consider that the principle will be better enforced if we make it an explicit condition precedent. And, at any rate, the present systems going by the name of National Debt Redemption Schemes or Funds, under which payments are made by drawing lots every year have got to be abolished. Again, loans are always to be issued at par, so that they may be readily converted whenever cheaper money may be available in the market.

III. Lastly, in the case of share-capital, *i.e.*, risk-bearing capital employed in productive industries and only in those cases to which our theory of State production would apply, our view is that, since the investor has taken the risk by himself, he ought to have his payment of capital or principal made from any rate of dividend he gets until it doubles out. In proposing this step we are certainly going to make a revolutionary departure from the existing system in so far as we shall be interfering with the prevail-

ing rights of private ownership in capital goods in accordance with our theory of State production. We are going to abolish the very wrong notion of a constructive ownership in capital goods as recognised in the eye of law, since it is unnatural on ethical as well as equitable grounds. Our view is that only those persons could be rightly said to own anything or property in common, whose interests were allied as within a joint-family, on the most thoroughly communistic principle, *i.e.*, " Work according to capacity and reward according to need " rule ; and no help from any extraneous labour ought to be taken in making that property or capital yield its income. We shall, of course, have to fix certain limits in order to apply the principle into practice. In our theory of State-ownership and State production we have proposed certain limits of capitalisation of private industry and we may accordingly apply the rule in all joint-stock companies of limited liability which are floated with a capital over that limit. Let us reiterate that our aim is to abolish that most unnatural state of divorce of labour from its tools of production, while we also want to retain all the benefits of the freedom of private initiative and enterprise in industry.

The proposed measure is certainly no robbery, since, as the capitalist has enjoyed consumer's surplus and rental and monopoly surpluses he must yield whatever he can ; moreover, since it is certain he could spare his money and part with it once and for all, our double-return rule will affect distribution of income like taxation. Our theory of State production further lays down that this process of redemption of the subscribed share-capital by means of the dividends declared may not be actually completed before the limiting point of investment is reached in that industry, that is, until the industry has fully developed all its internal and external economies and reached its limit of expansion, at which stage its rates of dividend

would sink down to the level of the economic rate of interest. We now close this account with a quotation from our book (*Ibid*) :—

" Again, if any interest-bearing deed of agreement be transferred from one hand to another, its valuation at the time of transaction can be made on the above principle and then a slight discount or premium may be given depending on the good honour of the deed, whereas there will not be much room for speculation as these days. For instance, the shares of a company subject to State production may be put out for sale, then since their face-value according to our rule would evidently be double their issue-value less by the dividends already paid on it, the prospective purchaser may offer a little premium or claim discount according to the conditions of investment, but that will be practically inappreciable, whereas all the grabbing of the share-market would cease for good and all. In case the two parties agree, the interest at any time, if not paid down, may be added to the capital and would then give added interest, or call it, compound interest. Such as, in case of any investment on railways if the company declares dividends after a few years it had taken loan on a certain rate of interest payable yearly, then with the good will of its creditors it may add the interest due every year to the capital as further loan, but it must always be payable on the same system of instalment payment by broken interest—call it compound or simple."

PART V. THE IDEAL OF THE JOINT-FAMILY AND THE PLACE OF THE WOMAN IN SOCIETY.

(1) The Ideal of the Joint Family.

Great as is the importance realised in the East of the institution of the joint-family, which is as old as Eastern civilisation, still one may fear, that in our modern age even an examination of this archaic institution, which is now almost defunct and positively decaying in this individualistic age even in the land of its birth, *i.e.*, India, will fail to catch the eye of the casual reader, although to those possessing deeper insight this age-old institution may still possess an inspiration all its own. The East had evolved through the ages of her antiquity a joint-family system as being best suited to the genius of her communal life, and till to-day it has known of no other. The patriarchal family or the complex joint-family was originally the first unit or body-corporate as the foundation of society, but with the advance of "civilisation" or say, the disintegration of the old communal system with its trade-guilds or the rigid caste-system of India, it seems to have been succeeded by a simpler joint-family, especially perhaps owing to a difficulty of creating a common caste-bond or a community of views. The spirit of the old patriarchal family was, however, more or less imbibed in the traditions that survived in the simpler form of the joint-family, such as the love of a simple life lived in nearness to nature, and a continuance of many of the home industries and handicraft arts, relating to the common domestic economy of the family life of the people, in general.

The simpler form of the joint-family may be defined in the words of an economist of the Christian School, C. S. Devas, as thus (*Pol. Econ. Ponyhurst Series*) :—

"The term joint-family can be applied where more than one married couple live together in one household. The simpler form is when one married son or married daughter lives at home with the parents; and this is the normal and suitable course where rural property, especially that of yeoman and peasant continues undivided in the same family. A peasant household of this kind (to which Le Play has given the title of *famille souche* or *stem family*) will comprise on an average some fifteen or sixteen persons and generally three, often four generations."

The Christian view regarding this form of joint-family is thus expressed by the author:—

"Such stem families are also in complete harmony with the Christian view of the reverence due to parents, the reverence due to age, the mutual care of brothers and sisters for one another, and hence, where adverse laws and circumstances have not put a hindrance, they have been common in Christian countries. But though congruous, they are not essential to the Christian family."

Since no form is essential to the Christian view of the family, we are further advised in the name of Progress that the higher evolution of forms from the stage of the patriarchal to the simple type of joint-family and from that to the modern single family, is proved by the fact, that as Mayne argued: 'There has been no tendency to a return backwards and a reaction from the present.' A nice proof of "evolution" indeed! We should certainly agree with the view that recourse should be most readily had for splitting up the joint-family as soon as there occurs the least estrangement or disharmony in the views of the families or their respective outlook on life, for the sake of domestic felicity. But as to what led to the adhesion of the older type, and a communion of views also, is a question which none of these learned writers ever attempted to take note of, and consequently the result was that

this typically Eastern institution of joint-family had been all along misinterpreted by Western thinkers, who were under the delusion that progress in material arts was synonymous with a progress in the art of society-building, or the art of living and of organisation of men and society. As a proof of "evolution" in the forms of the family, we may be pardoned for quoting a description of the "highest form"—that of the modern instable family, from the pen of C. S. Devas himself:—

"The other extreme is what has been called the *instable family* and is common in Western Europe and America. In this form of domestic life there are no family traditions, no paternal hearth, parental authority is transient, the children soon work and live apart from their parents, and the sense of mutual responsibility is small. Compared with this instability the solid complex joint-family of the East appears to great advantage."

There is indeed no community of views possible among the people like the one that follows from their agreement regarding certain basic principles of life, as distinguished from the external rules of conduct, from subscribing to common aims and ideals and a common general outlook on life, rather than that proceeding from any common external form or institution. To illustrate the point, we propose to bring out a few important ideals underlying this most ancient of Eastern institutions.

First of all, the grandest communistic principle of "Work according to capacity and reward according to need" is made applicable to the fullest extent within the joint-family, which is perhaps the source of greatest consolation after the day's work of competition. As such, the personality of the individual is to be merged in the best interest of the family as determined by the guiding will of its eldest member, the joint-family as a whole becoming a competing unit for the outside

world, and a kind of mutual insurance society for the members comprising it. The joint-family is in a way a perpetual home in which the old generation is giving place to the new, and as such a world in the miniature. Not only the division of income in it is based on the communistic principle, but in such a family life and occupations of the various members can be as varied as in the outside world and yet, it supplies a living illustration of the phenomenon, that all its members share an equality of bodily comfort and live on the same biological plane of existence, in spite of their varied occupations ranging from the highest intellectual pursuits to that of the commonest labour. The educative and cultural influence of such an institution must be of a very far-reaching kind toward the making of a true humanity.

Another grand ideal inculcated by the institution of joint-family is that of "living a life nearest to nature," which does not mean reducing the life to first principles of living, but it signifies, on the contrary, the imbibing of certain love of nature and of natural living. Hindus, generally speaking, excel in pastoral arts and would appear more or less to possess an instinct of nature-worshipping. 'Plain living and high thinking' is no mere precept with a Hindu, but a practical rule of conduct actually observed inside a Hindu joint-family. The joint-family also plays a most important part in the national economy of consumption by emphasising the need for simple and natural living, in which respect the life within Oriental homes is lived almost uniformly from the king to the commonest peasant. The Eastern civilisation has rightly discarded the chimerical ideal followed by the West, that of trying to enrich all men by an almost infinite extent of production, but it has sought to make life uniform not in a soul-killing poverty, as often misrepresented, but in the gayest exuberance and richness of life that results from a contact

with Nature.[1] The basic ideal, more or less enforced in practice, is to produce all economic utilities of a rational, healthy and normal consumption from raw materials as far as possible within the joint-family. For instance, the Hindu woman takes a veritable pride in her art of cooking, which is to be strictly done inside the homes, as perhaps no other woman of any other race would do, and the excellence of her art does not only lie in preparing the most flavoured dishes, but it also lies in her utilising the most scanty resources and working by means of the crudest appliances adapted to her kitchen since primeval days of the hoary Indian civilisation. She would burn raw wood in the oven ; would not hesitate to fetch her own water from the well or the village tank ; would clean the copper or iron utensils, which possess great durability if nothing else ; and would perform all the processes of cooking beginning from the grinding of the corn on the antic

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[1] On the value of natural living we have the following from Edward Carpenter:—" But wherein the affluent classes suffer most in the present day is perhaps in the matter of health; into that heaven it is indeed hard for a rich man to enter. Here, again the whole tradition of life is against him. If there is one thing that appears to me to be more certain than another, it is, as I have partly said before, that no individual or class can travel far from the native life of the race, without becoming shrivelled, corrupt, diseased—without suffering, in fact. By the native life I mean the life of those (always the vast majority of mankind) who live and support themselves *in direct contact with* nature. It must be noticed that the working masses of our great towns do not by any means fulfil this condition. Thrust down into the squalor by the very effort of others climbing to luxury, the unnaturalness, and misery of their lives is the direct counterpart and inseparable accompaniment of the unnaturalness of the lives of the rich. That the great masses of our population to-day are in this unhealthy state does not however disprove the statement in the text, *i.e.*, that the vast majority of mankind must live in direct contact with Nature—rather it would indicate that the present conditions can only be of brief duration."

grinding-stone. Similarly, she would not only do all the sewing, tailoring and knitting work of the family, but go further than that, by devoting her leisure time to spinning and weaving according to the needs of the family. An ideal joint-family furnishes the best ground for a training in the arts necessary for living near to nature, such as those of backwoodsmanship—*e.g.*, erecting your own cottage and thatching it ; making your own cots, mats and like furniture ; tending your own dairy cows and other cattle ; storing grains for the year ; and so on.

These are the functions common to all the families among the Indo-Aryans, and still there exists a differentiation according to occupations in the rudimentary arts and crafts of the Hindus. A clear line of demarcation between the work to be done inside the family and that which is the sole monopoly of the craft-guilds exists nowhere in theory,[1] still in practice, we find that according to the

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[1] Perhaps we may hazard to draw a line of demarcation from a consideration of the fact that those primitive industries which required a great deal of walking or out-door active life and hence were in their very nature unsuitable for the stay-at-home life of the women, went to constitute the various so-called professions. For instance, it has been considered a bad omen for the women to handle a plough, perhaps for the simple reason that the furrowing of even a smallest field by means of the primitive plough required miles of walking to and fro. Similarly, the occupations like those of the woodcutter, the fisherman or the hunter were naturally unadapted to women, also weaving (not spinning) since it required a great deal of walking in the carding process of the primitive type, was taken up by a separate occupation of weavers. Again, there were certain occupations differentiated because of a high skill and complicate processes of industry required therein, such as blacksmithy, goldsmithy and even carpentry. At any rate, we are forced to discard the modern notion that the division of work between the man and the woman was ever based on hardhanded and softhanded labour, since the work done by the

status of each family there is almost a fixed routine for the yearly round of duties to be performed by way of producing economic utilities of consumption. Since all life and its labour, howsoever hard and repugnant, is raised in the East to the level of a religious duty and as such a source of spiritual benefit according to the faith of the Hindus, there is no taskmaster required to exact the daily arduous toil of living near to nature except perhaps the self-appointed code of a naturalistic religion which sanctions the performance of certain duties in keeping with the seasonal needs of the year. To take one instance, there will be the great festival of *Dipâvali* coming after the rainy season, which necessitates the cleaning and repairing of the house before it may be brilliantly illuminated on a certain moonless night ; similar explanation may be found for all the Hindu festivals, customs and rituals. As another instance of implied utility in the time-honoured rituals of the East, we may notice the performance of the daily " Homa " or " Yajna " in the family, which is not only a form of daily worship of God or the Deity according to one's belief, but also becomes the best method of disinfecting the house by means of the burning of the best of incense, and further, prior to the ceremony being performed a high standard of house-cleaning is prescribed for. It has latterly been recognised by high testimonies that the application of cattle-dung on the ground floor as well as the mud walls of the cottage, is one of the best disinfectants, and as such proves the best of hygienic measures in a homestead; also the burning of clarified butter in the daily *Homa*, which would have been objected to as an

women, such as of grinding on the antic stone, of tending cattle, or even sheep-rearing, such as done by the women of Scandinavia till to-day, could certainly not be classed with the latter kind of labour.

economic waste, has been found to have a most wholesome effect in purifying the atmosphere as well as the human lungs by its inhalation, when it is burnt on the fire with the incense, it being a great antidote of the tuburcular bacilii, which are producing such a havoc in our modern cities. There are enthusiasts going much further in praise of the rituals prescribed for a Hindu system of living, as having a scientific interpretation, as for instance in the case of the *Homa*, to which they would even ascribe the virtue of producing a certain humidity in the atmosphere when performed on a large scale in all the homesteads of the towns, and so as a result of that clouds will yield a shower of rain at the right season, and there will be no failure of the monsoon.

Thus, on the whole, we find it a pre-eminent feature of the Hindu family to lay an emphasis on a sane and rational art of consumption. Now the eyes of European reformers beginning from Le Play, are also bent towards bringing about a reformation in the art of consumption, and new movements are being daily set afloat with a view to study the problems concerning the development of a real art of consumption best adapted to modern conditions of life. The importance of the family life as conducive to man's happiness, which is greatly increased through the cultivation of a sane and rational art of consumption, is now realised in this modern age, after we have reduced our family ties, family environments and duties to a minima practicable with our very physical existence, in our hot pursuit to produce more and more to an endless end of things. Now, after all, we are coming to realise that the economic wâste going on in society owing to a concentration of the productive forces of the community, however efficiently organised and improved on modern methods, but as leading to a watertight compartmental division of Production, Exchange, Distribution and Consumption,

still involves a far greater waste through anti-social competition ; that it is nothing as compared to the so-called waste of time, energy, as well as of economic or material goods, which, it was so long the contention of the modernists, was to follow from having separate bakeries in each household, or by continuing to draw water from the well instead of the modern pipes, or by lighting the houses separately by burning raw seed-oils instead of from the general electric supply, and so on.[1] Thus we have from Ruskin on the value of the art of consumption:

> " It is therefore the manner and issue of consumption which are the real tests of production. Production does not consist in things laboriously made, but in things serviceably consumable; and the question for the nation is not how much labour it employs, but how much life it produces. For as consumption is the end and aim of production, so life is the end and aim of consumption." (*Unto this Last.*) Again, Ruskin could write in 1870: " I have fearlessly declared your so-called Science of Political Economy to be no science, because namely it has omitted the study of exactly the most important branch of the business—the study of *spending*."

Now that it is discovered that the fever of production was sapping away more life by making it most unnatural than giving life at least to the vast majority of the human

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[1] Here, we have the authority of C. S. Devas :—

" In the process of consumption there is a remarkable saving: for if that family of fifteen were broken up into three separate households, the aggregate expense of housing, lighting, heating, cooking, cleaning, washing, and much else of domestic work would be at least double, for the simple reason that the materials and implements of consumption, the roofs and walls, the furniture and adornments, the gardens and play-rooms, the fuel and stores, the kitchen pots and pans, the stews and broths and brews, that are sufficient for five people, will in some cases be sufficient for fifteen, very often sufficient for ten, very rarely insufficient for more than five: not to speak of the greater variety of food and of other objects of enjoyment which is possible in a large household a variety equivalent. . . . to a great increase in quantity."

race, our attention has been turned to other directions for a solution of the difficulty confronting us. All the artistic beauty of life is destroyed by making the essentially creative art of production so monotonous and unnatural. And it has still to be brought home to many that a certain amount of waste is necessary for the very life and existence of man, and considering the waste that is necessarily involved in the very bringing up of a man from infancy, in the satisfaction of our aesthetic wants, who would deny that even a certain degree of wasteful expenditure being made inside the family and around the family hearth, multiplies almost limitlessly the pleasure derived from consumption, compared to the same being made outside home, however ostentaciously and before people whose interests and therefore sympathies are turned away from you? Then again the natural instinct of the Hindu revolts against the use of anything not produced directly from raw material, and it is also not without truth that the artificial machine-produced utilities, like a general water-supply or electric supply for lighting, or gas supply for cooking, do not reach the same standard of purity, cleanliness and excellence in quality, as conducive to the best healthy growth of man, as their rival natural goods yield, such as, the fresh spring water, or fire made from wood, or oil pressed from oil-seeds. It is also noteworthy, when we take into consideration the objection of waste of human energy involved in producing utilities from raw materials, that firstly, the races of men cultivating the arts of domestic economy have always been known in the East, or even in the medieval periods of the West, to command far more leisure at their disposal than our moderns have, which could be turned to philosophical musings and meditative spiritual sciences, so very characteristic of the East. The influence of climate and soil may be great in affording the facilities for the creation of leisure, but it is almost

an anti-climax in our modern intellectual age, that although everybody would highly prize leisure, yet none seems to possess enough of it. In the Hindu joint-family every one can enjoy his or her quota of leisure. Simply because all the members have not picked up the craze of going in for producing more and earning more regardless of how these earnings can be best applied to yield a maximum quota of happiness. Then again, if some useful work or service is being performed within the family, there can be such a nice division of labour that even the little children of the family can find something on hand to deliver as their share, and the very voluntary opportunity to participate in the family work develops a certain creative and artistic genius in the child mind, besides imparting to the future generation bred up in such atmosphere a character of a sturdy independence of thought and a certain courage of initiative, when once the child knows that, like a backwoodsman, he can create enough of economic utilities for his physical sustenance and support by the very power of his hands, wherever he may happen to be, or whatever he may do. It is because of this training obtained of living near to nature in the Eastern system of family life, that great sages and philosophers possessing miraculously humanistic instincts were born, not as mere exceptions, as for instance, we may count the Western Savants on the tips of our fingers, but in numbers that are legion in all ages and epochs.

Hence, we may broadly conclude, that just as the creation of utilities from raw materials within a joint-family involves almost no waste besides being conducive to the best of family happiness, even a consumption of raw materials of natural produce would not involve any real waste even when uniformly consumed on a large scale. We may further notice another reason for reaching the above conclusion, that, in a system of " natural economy,"

say as above advocated, when many of the economic utilities would have been created inside homes, as part of an improved art of consumption, the productive capacities and powers of men, thus released from directions in which they were so far employed in an anti-social or " unproductive " manner, could be applied to make for a far greater and far more efficient production of those very raw materials in general demand, which have to be wrested from nature, and are also limited in quantity, being subject to the law of Diminishing return. Then, indeed, comes the test of the wisdom and inventiveness of man, which consists in counteracting the law of Diminishing return, and that alone will be the true use and application of the present knowledge of the Western sciences by which we claim to have controlled and gained mastery over the elements of nature. Now from the above analysis, it will be amply clear that the domain of work inside the home for the women of the family as well as the stay-at-home men of the joint-family, is quite as large, if not larger, so far as their work of creating utilities from raw materials by means of the simple arts and crafts known to the East is concerned—and which can certainly be as much extended and varied as one chooses—as the real work of production, which consists in raising raw materials, or in that which saves hard and necessary toil on the part of man by being performed by means of the modern machinery engines in our factories or industrial workshops, such as, making appliances for improved communications, or cutting wood from the forests, or extracting ore from the mine pits, etc.

Granting such a state of things to exist, there will be no longer an unemployment problem to face, since many men, including the incapacitated, the too young or the too old and the inefficient, will all have some work to do and utilities to create falling within the purview of domestic economy ; and not like the present industrial

system in which all the work required for an individual, such as that of clothing him and furnishing his house, and producing other ready-made necessaries of life, is done in certain manufactories and factories, thus practically taking away the right of the individual to work for himself and thus sometimes leaving no work for him to do. The home industries, moreover, provide work for the individual at a time when he most needs it, such as at times of pecuniary embarrassment, and so would often save a person from being preyed upon by outside exploiters mercilessly driving upon him their material laws of Supply and Demand and squeezing the very substance out of his body or labour ; and thus also such a system protects those of the weaker and fairer sex from degrading themselves by selling their manual labour in a competitive and soul-killing market, since they can work in their homes like some of the Eastern women who cover over their times of emergency by producing some of the best of artistic work, like needle, knitting or embroidery work, finished at home and sold in the market for what it will fetch. Surely, it is very different for women to sell their manual labour in the market from selling any produce of their manual labour performed at home. Now, in order to support our argument that such an organisation of home industries will practically do away with the unemployment problem, we have the authority of no less a conventional economist than Professor Pigou. Thus Professor Pigou quotes M. Lizard on p. 142 (' *Wealth And Welfare* ') :—

" If unemployment seems to grow as we pass upward from primary towards finishing industries, this circumstance is explained by the fact that the industries at the top of the scale, being more specialised, have narrower markets. On the other hand, the industries that deal with raw products provide the material needed by numerous other industries, and, therefore, enjoy the advantages which a multitude of outlets confer."

Le chomage et la profession. M. Lizard, p. 337.

Again Professor Pigou, while explaining the idea of the elasticity of demand for labour (p. 80, *ibid.*) lays down the axiom that if labour can make a good many things in demand by themselves or there is demand for labour in personal service, then the elasticity of demand for labour must be highly elastic, in other words, there could be no cause for unemployment.

Now let us add a word about the practicability and feasibility of having this old scheme of things introduced in our modern homes. We know how the medieval handicraft arts and crafts, in which the East led the way, can no longer hold any ground before the far more efficient machinery production of the present day. The former appear to us to be so crude, that we can certainly master all of them and in an incredibly short time—perhaps in as many days as it took years before to undergo the long periods of apprenticeship training devoted to them in the medieval days: all this difference being due to our highly developed mental capacities, greater intelligence, and our training for a disciplined application of labour required in modern industry. Moreover, a person need not be a highly skilled artisan in order to satisfy his wants, but his training as a " jack of all trades " will quite serve the purpose. In the words of C. S. Devas: " For example, it is waste of time for a person to learn the elaborate processes needed for making delicate inlaid and polished furniture, when in fact he will be employed only in rough carpentering required for cottage and farm-building." Also, we can introduce into the family all the labour-saving hand-machines, such as for sewing and knitting, for corn-thrashing and winnowing, for milking, for laundry-work and even for cooking—all these and more, not as complete substitutes of the old simple and naturally adapted means of living but as mere adjuncts to them. We should certainly impart to our children all the necessary

training of eyes and hands for all sorts of handicraft work, such a practical training being an essential item of our education, which is otherwise only one-sided, being exclusively intellectual and hence also unnatural. Although people will take to various professions and occupations in these days of highly-differentiated labour, such a training would be more or less usefully employed in living an almost uniform life within the family, as we see in the East, through an uniformity in the observation of the art of consumption. Here let it be perfectly understood that no fear need be entertained about any dull monotony resulting in life from any such rigidity of rules of an art of consumption, on the contrary, there is in this respect a large room for elasticity in human conduct standing in contrast with the fashion-bound artificial civilisation of our modern age resting on mere external form and sterile etiquette.

Our real pride in consumption ought to consist in affording " luxuries " which are our own artistic production, thus, if we take any reasonable pride in wearing fine muslin cloth it should have been our own manufacture on the handloom, but, on the contrary, if no one in our family gets enough time to spare for spinning and weaving even for the needs of the family, we may by all means use the mill-made cloth, but true civilisation would consist in disparaging it instead of allowing one to keep up appearances of respectability. True art indeed belongs to the creator of it, or as a religious-minded Hindu would believe, ' one's art goes through future rebirths with oneself and cannot be partaken of by those who may happen to admire it, just as if you may put on silken flaps over a donkey, it will no doubt feel cosy for that, but what credit should that be to a man behaving no better than a donkey? ' For a picture of the modern life of respectability, let us again turn to the piquant description of Edward

Carpenter writing on "Desirable Mansions":

"The stream of human life goes past. When a rich man builds himself a prison, he puts up these fences to keep the world out—to shut himself in. If he can, he builds far back from the high road. In front of his house he has a boundless polite lawn, with polite flower beds, afar from vulgar people and animals. Rows of polite servants attend upon him; and there, of inanimity and politeness he dies. Of what human life really consists, he has little idea. He has not the faintest notion of what is necessary for human life of happiness. Sometimes, with an indistinct vision of accumulated evil, he says: "Poor So-and-So, he has only £200 a year to keep his wife and family on!" No wonder his own daughters dedicate themselves to "good works." They go out with the curate and visit at the neighbouring cottages. Their visits have little appreciable effect on the people; but are of great benefit to themselves and the curate. They observe for the first time how life is carried on; they see the operations of scrubbing and cooking (removed in their own houses afar from mortal eye); perhaps they behold a mother actually suckling her babe, and learn that such things are possible; finally they "wonder" how "those people" live, and to them their wonder (like the fear of God) is the beginning of wisdom. . . .

". . . Now, is it not curious that those good people, sitting round their dinner table in the desirable mansion, or listening to a little music in the drawing room, should actually be so ignorant of the world, and what goes on in it, as to think and honestly believe, that *they are par excellence* the educated people in it? Does it ever occur to them, I often think, to imagine who made all the elegant and costly objects with which they are surrounded? Does it ever occur to them, as they tacitly assume the inferiority of the working classes, to think of the table itself, across which they speak,—how beautifully fitted, veneered, polished; the cloth which lies upon it, and the weaving of it; the chairs and other furniture, so light and yet so strong, each requiring the skill of years to make: the silver, the glass, the steel, the tempering, hardening, grinding, fitting, rivetting; the lace and damask curtains, the wonderful machinery, the care, the delicate touch, adroit manipulation; the piano; the very house in which they spend their days? Is there one I say, who we will not say could make even the smallest part, but who even has the faintest idea how one of these things is made, where it is made, who makes it? Not one. All the care, the loving thought the artistic design, the conscientious workmanship that have been expended,

and are daily expended on these things and the like of them—go past them unrecognised and unacknowledged.

"The great hyman of human labour over the earth is to them an idle song. There in the midst of all these beautiful products of human toil and ingenuity, possessing but not enjoying, futile they sit, and fancy themselves educated—fit to rule.

"I have heard of a fly that sat, stinging, upon the hind-quarters of a horse, and fancied that without it, the cart would not go. Fancied so, I say, until the great beast whisked its tail, and after that it fancied nothing more. . . . .

". . . . Respectability! Heavy-browed and hunch-backed word! Once innocent and light-hearted as any other word, why now, in thy middle age, art thou become so gloomy and saturnine? Is it that thou art responsible for the murder of innocents? Respectability! Vision of clean hands and blameless dress—why dost thou now appear in the form of a ghoul before me?

"I confess that the sight of a dirty hand is dear to me. It warms my heart with all manner of good hopes and promises. Often and long have I thought about this matter, and in all good faith I must say that I fail to see how hands that are always clean are compatible with honesty. That is no play upon words. I fail to see how, in the long run, any man that takes his share in the work of the world can keep his hands in this desirable state.

"How? The answer is obvious enough—leave others to do the dirty work. Good! Let it be so; let it be granted that others shall do the scrubbing and baking, the digging, the fishing, the breaking of horses, the carpentering, smithing, and the myriad other jobs that have to be done, and you at the pinnacle of all this pyramid of work, above all, keep your hands clean. We shout to you from below, exhort you, at all costs, keep your hands clean! Think how important it is while the great ships have to be got into harbour, that your nails should be blameless! Think if, by accident you were to do a real good piece of work, and get your hands thoroughly grimed over it, unwashable for a week, what confusion would ensue to yourself and friends! Think, O think of your clients, or of your next dinner party, and earnestly and prayerfully resolve that such a fall may not be yours. Seek, we pray you, some secure work—some legal, clerical, official, capitalist, or land-owning business, safe from the dread stain of dirty hands, whatever other dirt it may bring with it—some thoroughly gentlemanly profession, marking you clearly off from the vulgar and general masses, and the blessing of heaven go with you!"

There is no such an artificial cleavage between the life of the rich and the poor in the East because of an uniformity in the art of consumption, which flourishes within the joint-family, while the charge of this great department is transferred to the women entirely. All labour performed within the home is not only held sacred, but raised to the level of a religious duty. Such an uniformity becomes quite easily enforceable in the East, where a healthy public opinion formed on any ethical or moral subject or even a subject of public utility commands a great respect, there being firstly, no idea of a class morality or a class standard of respectability as in the Western world, secondly, owing to a thorough permeation of the religious spirit of the ideals of Renunciation, and realising Oneness of All-Life; of a higher faith in the virtue of Penance and Sacrifice, and, above all, in the continuity of life beyond death and through future rebirths in the same world, wherein also our near and dear ones of the past births may also be born under very different circumstances of life, or, again, in a higher law of retribution working out its processes through the cycle of births and rebirths as well as in the present life. Verily, as the Hindu makes no distinction between the temporal and the spiritual for to him all the life's work is God's work, this factor, added to his intense love for a natural living, should give no cause for wonder that what is well-nigh impossible to achieve in the West even by means of a rigid rule of law, can be quite easily achieved in the East by a mere force of public opinion. It is no doubt partly true, as economists tell us, that an average man has an almost unbounded love for display and personal adornment, but, as a rule, we can discourage by means of a strong public opinion, the use of all machine-made articles of personal adornment and so-called "luxuries" of enjoyment. Remember, we had no dearth of most comfortable of luxuries and articles of adornment

in the pre-machinery era, as the pomp and glory of Eastern kings is still proverbial, but, no doubt, those " luxuries " were sometimes the product of lifelong labour and so were only afforded by the kings alone. In the present age, on the contrary, the industrial competition becomes anti-social by the very fact that it holds out the bait of cheapness to the labouring classes for affording " luxuries " and articles of personal adornment. Even quality is sacrificed to cheapness, and besides this the consumer's life is made unnatural by coming to be dependent upon these " wasteful " machinery products through a mere force of habit or custom. Our solution lies in the golden mean between the two extremes, in that the old mediæval arts may be revived and retained as far as practicable within the joint-family. Let us, however, stop here to take note of one important illustration, as supplied by the East, of this rule of the golden mean, inasmuch as a certain degree of ' luxury and ostentation ' was also tolerated on certain occasions, and at such times we might likewise use machine-made articles. For, as the Hindu loves nature and natural living, he also revels in a variety of life through a corresponding display and show of ornamental decoration during the performance of the various ceremonies and complicated rituals, which are prescribed for almost every stage of a life-time and which possess for him an importance equal to the wedding ceremony in the West, besides, however, the innumerable festivals recurring in rapid succession every month throughout the year. In the words of C. S. Devas: " Moreover, on certain occasions of festivity and under the special circumstance, elaborate and costly goods may be enjoyed without blame, and the faithful, resplendent in silken garments, are invited in the ritual of the church to praise God the Author of all good things. In particular where the superfluity is enjoyed in common with other persons there is less likelihood of luxury, more room

for ornament, and a certain magnificence is suitable for the festivals of the State, and above all for religious worship."

Now, just here let us draw the two limits between which a sane and rational development of the art of consumption as adapted to modern family life, may be aimed at. On one hand, we have to safeguard the domain of legitimate family work from the encroachments of the machinery products; on the other hand, we have to see that the family work does not become a drudgery by becoming too hard and too near to a natural subsistence. We have already laid down the principles to be applied within limits of practicability, *viz.*, (1) natural living, (2) cultivation of self-dependence and self-reliance through handicraft arts which involve generally one-man's combination of capital and labour. For instance, we may by all means introduce an improved form of the spinning-wheel in place of the antic type, since the yarn obtained from the latter is too little to bear any comparison for the time and energy spent upon it, but until the improved form may be forthcoming we must not give it up simply because one labourer in a modern spinning factory does the work of a thousand labourers working on the spinning-wheel. And even if we may reject the antic spinning-wheel in favour of the mill-spun yarn, this fact should not deter us from vehemently advocating the introduction of the handloom furnished with the fly-wheel shuttle in our domestic economy; and instead of our present misplaced pride in fashionable wearing apparel, then we shall have occasion for genuine pride in weaving the best of home-produced designs of cloths of all kinds and structures to satisfy our domestic needs. Similarly, we do not advise that one should go to the forest to cut wood for his consumption, for that is the work of a regular occupation of wood-cutters under the old regime of mediæval system, and a work which at present ought best to be carried on by means of machinery, but one may

certainly be expected to purchase regularly-cut and sliced planks from the market in order to make one's furniture out of it. As another practical example, it is not expected that one should manufacture one's leather shoes beginning from the processes of preparing hides, but it will suffice if we sew our boots out of finished leather, and be also able to repair them. Similarly, for the smithy work we need only know how to make use of the smith's tools in driving the screws, or pivotting the nails, or sharpening the edges and even in repairing small machinery and also knowing a little about moulding the metals.

Again, it is of importance to notice what modifications we should make in the old architecture of our thatched and mud-walled cottages. Here let us make bold to premise that *pucca* houses in our cities have proved to be nothing less than our grave-yards made for our own internment from the point of view of sanitation, both air and light being almost cut off by them, and there is a still more important reason for us to so condemn the *pucca* houses, which is not only generally overlooked but will be even incredible to many. It lies in the fact that the soft earth or clay of our *kuchcha* (*i.e.*, plain earth) ground floor has very good hygienic properties of absorbing all filth and bad smell in itself, that being a reason why dead bodies are buried underground, and besides this quality of absorption the very contact of the naked body with the common earth is the giver of a magnetic or nervous strength, which exerts a very wholesome effect on the development of the physical body. It is a common experience in the East that those children grow best who play on the earth instead of *pucca* cemented or brick floors. Also, it is to be noticed that the use of shoes became common even in a cold country like England and especially Scotland in the last century, when what was only an exception became the rule.

Let us also notice some features of the Indian architec-

ture of homes in order to adapt it to modern conditions of life. The most remarkable feature to which we will refer is that the big family halls nowadays constructed in modern houses, are nothing as compared to far more spacious halls within a Hindu's family, but with the difference that they are open from above instead of being roofed. Such open yards within the Hindu homes render a wonderful utility in making life natural, particularly when there are no double-storeyed buildings all round it to shut off the air and the sun-beams from the open yard. The open yard is big enough to lay out a few flower beds in one corner by the side of the family well. The *Tulsi* or the holy basil shrub so much prized and held religious within Hindu homes, has a great disinfectant action on the air and attracts to itself by its smell the mosquitoes and other insects. There is also a shed for the dairy cattle and another for the kitchen inside the yard. There are some rooms in the house meant for storing valuable goods and the roofs are generally made of wood, but in front of them instead of the modern verandahs, there are generally straw-thatches. Similarly, for the outside there is a sitting room which is well-built, a thatchet in front of it and then an open space generally overshadowed by a large leafy tree. Now this ideal house construction is not everywhere possible and modifications will have to be introduced according to the varied climes and regions and the modern conditions of life. We may, for instance, replace mud walls by brick walls, or as the latest proposal has been contemplated in England, introduce wooden houses. Similarly, we may now have iron railings instead of wooden ones for the roofing, but as far as possible let us not forget in our derision and contempt for all things requiring daily repair, all the beauty and other utility of our sun-dried straw-thatches. Remember the King of England can afford the luxury of having his Windsor Castle straw-thatched.

Indeed for a Hindu the common sod of earth which he uses for his soap; the earthen pottery which is used in the household for storing water, for if used for drinking water or eating or cooking anything in it, it is to be at once destroyed after a single use; the dry leaves out of which are provided the cups and dishes for sumptuous feasts arranged for large gatherings; even his loose apparel of an unsewn cloth for the lower part of the body which allows free access to air coming in contact with the lower part of the body—all these and such like simple and natural articles of utility are not only indispensable to him, but the very life-breath of his existence, as forming part of his religious code. No poet or bard may paint or sing all the beauties of such a naturalistic life as lived in the Eastern homes and of which beauty, which is as pure as it is unostentatious, no Westerner can ever form an estimate. The reader may, however, be referred to the writings of Sister Nivedita dealing with the description of Hindu life as lived within Hindu homes.

The golden chain of India's home life was partly destroyed by the aggression of her Moslem rulers, and partly by the mental stagnation of the Hindus themselves, who were now left with the relics of a grand edifice of a glorious civilisation and culture, of which the ideals were forgotten and only a skeleton of dogmatic rules and rituals was all that was left in the hands of the ignorant generations of this dark age of *Kaliyuga* (*i.e.*, Age of Decline according to Hindu belief). Now the Eastern mind is charmed by the gloss and tinsel of the West and it has failed to realise the supreme beauty of its own home life. The Hindu women, however, true to their traditions of home life, have voluntarily segregated themselves from the impure outside life of the man of the present-day by confining themselves and all their remnant beauty and art of living, within the four walls of their home, hidden away

in *Purdah* from the view of those criminal aggressors whose very touch and look would be contamination to them. They willingly accepted shackles round their feet as an act of silent and non-violent protest against those whose very breath was destructive of their sweet home life; and now even this willing sacrifice involved in the women's non-co-operation with the external life of the man seems to be forgotten by the Indian men, now beguiled away by the glamour of a new resplendent, because more or less sensuous, civilisation of the West. There is thus hardly a chance for Indian ideals of home life to be again understood and fully appreciated, particularly, under the pressure of the law of Economic Determinism. Our handicraft arts and old communal organisations have already been swept away by the importation of ready-made European institutions, just as the mediæval industry had to march out to make room for the machinery-era introduced by the Industrial Revolution. We have also no tears to shed for such an inevitable change leading to even material progress in arts of production, provided that such a change does not also destroy and defeat the very ends of life—the basic ideals and ethical standards that should inspire our regenerated social institutions. Our solution is, therefore, that all the mediæval arts and crafts and methods of a natural living must be thoroughly imported and preserved in our modern family life, leaving machinery to perform only hard and pugnacious work for the human race.

(II) The Place of the Woman in Society.

Let us now pass on to a still more controversial question raging these days—that about the functions and share of duties assigned to women in such an ideal of the family as we have pictured above. This is an age of 'Equality' between the man and the woman, an equality in the right of citizenship as well as in the participation of all the cultural benefits of the race—such as, an intellectual education enabling them to enter learned professions requiring soft-handed labour. Now let us make it at once clear that the East also has had its richest traditions of the so-called 'Equality and Liberty,' but its civilisation has been misread in this respect in spite of the fact that it still shows a remarkable elasticity in all its customs and observances very much unlike the rigid rules of etiquette and propriety which are being blindly tolerated in the "liberty-loving" West. The position of the woman in the Hindu joint-family is not merely that of perpetual tutelage to the man—the father, the husband, and the son in successive periods of her life—as generally misinterpreted in a Western terminology, which is the outcome of the competitive economism of the West, but according to Eastern synthetic philosophy the woman's field of work and functions and duties of life nowhere collide or come in violent contact against those of the man, and hence the woman enjoys a large degree of independence in her own department of work. As Ruskin observed: 'The one completes the other'—there arising no question of Equality when the man and the woman have merged themselves into a single unity and a religiously inviolable union of life. But the Eastern philosophy, while assigning different duties for the man and the woman, speaks clear on the point by

setting the two departments of work as separate and distinct from each other, which is very much unlike the vague allusions which the Western thinkers on the subject have made as regards any clear-cut division of duties between the man and the woman. For instance, Milton sang:—

> "For contemplation he and valour formed,
> For softness she and sweet attractive grace,
> He for God only, she for God in him."[1]

"We may even go a step further to say that the respect in which the Western civilisation holds the womanhood derives its origin from a certain spirit of romanticism associated with the word 'Chivalry' which had early seized the imagination of man; while the modern system which has forced the fair sex to sell her personal capital in the labour market—either in the modern factory world, or in the world of clerks or school-mistresses—has brought down that respect to the level of mere lip-consideration. According to the Indian traditions, however, a real veneration is imbibed for woman who is the emblem of the Divine Mother Earth, and why? Because of the virtues of self-renunciation practised by the woman. Let us convey the idea in the brilliant words of Prof. C. F. Andrews (Taken from an article *The Body of Humanity* contributed to *Viswabharti Quarterly Journal*, January, 1925):—

"It is when we come to the inner circle of the family, that we reach the true secret of India's greatness and find the highest mark of spiritual influence. This lies in the ideal of the true life, so intimately bound up at every point with religion, and the reverence of man for woman as the 'mother' with its counterpart of wifely devotion, giving the profoundest unity of all. Marriage, in India, has become a sacrament of renunciation. The womanhood of India, more than anything else, has kept the sacramental view of life whole and undefiled. *By the Hindu woman's utter and absolute self-devotion, going even to the extravagant lengths of Sati*, she has maintained religious idealism secure, and set forth an infinite and unbounded sacrifice before the eyes of man. Thus man, in his turn, has been drawn away from the world to the religious life, and has found in his old age no satisfaction except in the Eternal."

As regards the fact of a full and free participation in the cultural benefits of the race, it is not only a historical fact that the women of India were often as much highly educated in all the ancient lore as the most learned among men, but as a rule, it is a proud tradition of the East to allow a fullest communion in all the cultural gifts of the race, while it would be patent to any observer that the women generally excelled the men in the acquisition of spiritual faculties and powers. Now coming to the real view of the question, it was considered a point of honour according to Eastern ethics that women should not sell their personal services for any price in any work, which they may be engaged to perform outside their home. There have been known women of historical renown in Indian society of all ages who have undertaken to earn a livelihood by employing themselves on any cottage industries; some have been known even to write and publish books and draw earnings therefrom. But no Hindu woman of the *twice-born* '*Dwija*' class (*i.e.*, typically a Hindu of pure blood) would take up an employment as a modern factory woman. Moreover, as would be clear from our above description of home-economy there arose also no emergencies for making any exceptions of the rule, as the law of Economic Determinism compels us so to do in the present age.

Thus we see that, firstly, according to Eastern traditions, the married life involves the sacrifice upon the woman that she cannot in spite of all her education and professional training enter into any competitive professions or engage in any arts of production other than those plied inside the home; that henceforward her chief concern will be to improve the art of consumption by making physical conditions of life as near to nature as possible, since natural living is most wholesome to both our physical and moral existence, and thus also by producing economic utilities from natural products to lead the way to domestic

economy, which means in other words the good old saying, 'To save is to earn.' By such a sacrifice of the women for the family life the true cultural benefits of education are derived and the real purpose of civilisation borne out. Now in order that each woman may lead an ideal family life, for which she has a stronger natural urging since possessing in her body organism a more perfected machinery than men have, she ought to be given a special training in the arts of domestic economy, in the healing arts practised by those who have simplified life as adapted to natural conditions, in the finer arts of painting and music which ought to be the special gift of the fair sex, rather than waste a great deal of her time over any professional course of training required for a learned profession to be carried on outside home even before entering married life. In fact, according to Eastern traditions no woman may engage in any profession or occupation requiring services to be rendered or work performed outside the precincts of her home—whether it be under the roof of her father or husband; although, on the contrary, there is full liberty allowed to the woman to carry on any trade or profession while at her home. For instance, if a woman is to do the teaching work the students must come to her at her place ; similarly, if she happens to be a litterateur she may earn anything from her writings provided she does the writing work in her own home or offices; similarly if she happens to be a doctor she will attend her patients only when they come to her and not visit them; and so on, whether she be a modern solicitor carrying on chamber practice, or in any other profession. There are perhaps two exceptions to the general rule. Firstly, women are free to perform gratuitous services anywhere outside home. Thus, for instance, we can look forward to a woman politician or a woman missionary worker, even a woman soldier of great valour and repute as in the old Rajput

days of Indian history, not to speak of the women's great ascetic order of nuns whose work is to carry the message of the Infinite within Hindu homes, and so on, forming such a large majority of selfless workers devoted to the cause of public and moral reform. The second exception is, women are free to serve as paid or hired servants of other women or women's societies. Some people may here be inclined to think that the service by women under our modern corporations, such as those endowed by public charity, like some educational or other charitable institutions, should not be deemed derogatory for them; but in this respect while we admit that although the quality of the service to be performed may be of sterling gold, fit only for the "Brahmans," the holiest order of the realm, still we cannot overlook the fact that all posts and professions in the outside world must be more or less *competitive*, the best of merit attaching to them being the quality as well as the quantity of work to be done compulsorily, and hence all money-making avocations of life requiring work to be done outside the home, must be destructive of some part at least of the inherent and intrinsic beauty of the worker, if not actually "soul-killing," and thus in the case of a woman, since such a work endangers her prospect of leading a happy married life by tending to mar her artistic as well as æsthetic nature it must be deemed highly unsuitable.

Now as we should close our account of the Eastern Ideal of womanhood and family life, which we attempted in a rather cold and uninspiring language, the question should naturally occur to one's mind whether such a picture is likely to appeal to the modern Western woman. We had recently read with interest in the Press of a counter-movement started in England and headed by Lord——— with the mission to advocate a return to family life for the women. Whatever may be the upshot of all the struggle

and cross-currents and reactions going on in endless ebb and flow in the present state of indeterminate flux in which the western society finds itself, we can at best reckon the natural forces against which the modern perverted intellect aiming at the substitution of the man's work for the woman's, has to contend in order to succeed in planting and perpetuating an unnaturally-begotten artificial system. Just as we may not alter the facts of Geography, we cannot long row up-stream by shutting our eyes to the facts, that are physiological or psychological and psychical. The western world may take long to understand truths, which take their root in the innermost recesses of the spiritual and mental being of the man, and which were like a revealed book of knowledge to the ancient Indian sages of yore through their illumined intuition; but, nevertheless, it is only a question of time. The Eastern woman, characterised by her dignified gravity, standing in contrast against the superincumbent gracefulness[1] of her western sister, lays claim to no words of wisdom, nor wits, nor any resplendent attire bedecked with jewels, such as her Western sister may vaunt off. Yet the latter is already beginning to wonder why her decidedly "poorer"

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[1] Of the charm of volubility, exceptionally encouraged in the Western civilisation, we hope we may be excused for quoting the following words of Tolstoy:—"Psychiatrists are aware that when a man begins to talk a lot, to talk without end about everything on earth without giving himself the trouble to think, merely intent on pronouncing the maximum of words in the minimum of time, this is a dangerous but only too true sign of the beginning or development of a mental disease. And when in such a case the patient is fully convinced that he knows everything better than everybody else, that he can and must preach his wisdom to every one, then the symptoms of mental disorder are beyond question. Our so-called civilized world is in this dangerous and sad condition. And I think it is nearing a downfall, similar to that which befell the ancient civilisations."

neighbour is still much happier in her poverty than she with all her priceless riches. Thus often lost in wonder she would halt and take a stock of her own resources of battle against what she deems to be the rebellious elements of nature, and also forms an estimate of the work ahead to be accomplished, such as that of masculinizing themselves and effeminating the men.[1] There are thoughtful treatises produced on the subject evincing deep concern over the welfare of such a machine-made progeny imbibing the hybrid characteristics of parents that have interchanged everything except *perhaps* their respective sexes. Whereas the Hindu woman is trained up in the habit of observing fasts and of keeping vigils during certain hours of the night according to the lunar day of the month, since the moon has been known to exert a remarkable influence on the instinct of motherhood in a woman, the western woman is far too busy to take her babe with her to her modern workshop, or even to take the trouble of suckling it, although what mother can there be who does not know that the stream of milk must ooze out of her breast along

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[1] Under somewhat 'sensational' captions like 'Men are less masculine and girls less feminine' or 'A negative sex is evolving' one might often read articles in the modern press by certain very outspoken and "Free" writers these days. For example, the following paragraph is taken from one such article by Mr. John Res Sich, writing in the *Sunday Chronicle*:—

"The two sexes seem to be converging towards one another until a third and somewhat negative sex is evolving itself, in which we find the male a less vigorous, more emasculating thing, while the female is developing more self-reliance and returning thanks for neither protection nor advice—dangerously devoid of sentiment and almost completely devoid of sex.

"Unhappily, it seems as though this advance in sexless comradeship were synonymous with a decline in artistic and literary ability and in game."

with the current of love that radiates from her heart towards the little one yelling in her arms. Again, as it dawns upon the Westerner that our body-organism is essentially a natural organism, and so can best thrive and develop by our living in rapport with Mother Nature, he not only becomes disgusted with the artificial and unnatural conditions of modern life, but he will then appreciate the ministering help of a house-wife who should make life more natural for him, and even more so if she can lessen the strain on his productive capacities by effecting true economy in her domestic budget. It is even now proverbial in India that a man must spend more to live singly than by leading a married life—which is quite the reverse of the conditions existing in the West. Verily, this is why the Hindu woman is epitomized as *Lakshmi*, the Goddess of Wealth, besides being called the Goddess of Chastity (*Gauri*), and the Goddess of Learning (*Saraswati*). Again, whereas the ideal of chastity is so high placed for a Hindu woman that it is an article of an invincible faith with her that so long as she has faithfully cherished the ideal, her love for a man can never be misplaced, that there need be consequently no fear of a divorce proceeding or a state of widowhood—the expiation from the occurrence of any such untoward event coming from a self-imposed act of penance or sacrifice like the "Suttee" or the exhumation of the physical body and with it its shame and sin also ; on the contrary, in the West, one may be astounded at the daily swelling figures of the "public women" and the growing numbers of the spinsters as well as the increase in the divorce suits, not to say of the most unnatural disparity between the number of the two sexes in European countries, particularly after the Great War.

It is again a common rule in the East and West alike that it must be for a man to propose for the hand of a

woman and not *vice versa* because the rule is grounded on an unalterable physiological fact that certain radiations of an emotional nature flow from the man and are being absorbed by the woman, who possesses a more recipient heart than an aggressive one like the man's. In the East the woman as being supposed to be the guardian-angel of the virtue of chastity and hence above the carnal passion of love or even desire for love-making, unless her consent is sought for by a suitor to her hand, or she is to make a selection between several suitors aspiring for her hand, is still not strictly forbidden to make avowal of her first love if she has begun to entertain it for any man, and in such a case either the man would accept her overtures even though he may be thereby committing bigamy or even polygamy, or else in case of her disappointment she must be prepared to burn away that "original sin," which must have been the cause of the present disappointment, by a self-destruction of her physical body in the sacred flames of Agni—the Fire-God. The ideal of sexual purity is held up so highly in the Indo-Aryan civilisation that the slightest deviation from the high road of that virtue makes a man disqualified from entering the highest order of Life-Ascetics (*Bal-Brahmcharins*) or those who can enter the last stage of life, that of perfect renunciation, from their student life directly; whereas those of the fair sex are deemed to be practically infallible and so the parents practically exercise the right of selecting for their daughter a suitable husband to whom she may dedicate her life: thus, in the words of Tolstoy, "making the first fall the final fall from the Ideal of Chastity." How these simple laws of virtue, prescribed in the Indo-Aryan civilisation, also dispense with the need of any eugenic measures being adopted by the people to control the increase of population, would also be found on an examination to be simply wonderful, but for want of space at our disposal

now, we would be content with quoting a few lines only from our book (*Ibid.*, p. 157) :—

"The Hindu moral law is unequivocal that no sexual intercourse is justifiable under any conditions except with the definite and avowed purpose of originating life and then making it strictly obligatory on the parents to bring up the child under the highest training of *Dharma* until past the age of "full awakening," *i.e.*, the age of maturity—sixteen years of age, generally. All passions relating to the sex, not to say of the "flippant coquetry" of the Western woman, is sinful, whereas the sin does not become any the less in the case of a rightful man and wife cohabiting within three years at least, according to the Shastras, of the last childbirth. The Hindu *Shastra* also does not permit any parents to bear more than seven children; while it enjoins strict celebacy in case of men uptill twenty-five years of age at the least and retirement from worldly life after the middle life, *i.e.*, fifty years' age. Remember, the whole character of the parents is inherited in the embryo-child and any loose morals on their part are reflected in the child's character. In ancient India, there was used to be performed a ritual of purification, if by any means the austere vow of continence of a student was ever broken even in an unconscious state of sleep, and there was no lie or false prudery about it."

In the communal life of the East the priceless habits and virtues cultivated through a process of ages of specialisation through the principle of the continuity of heredity, must be inestimable in their worth, and so the Hindu woman up to this day without exaggeration points to the Ideal for the womanhood of the world in spite of the present degraded and rotten condition of the Hindu men, who are hardly endowed with sufficient intelligence to understand and appreciate the spirit and the principle underlying the dead dogmas which they are blindly following as so many prescribed rules of conduct. The Hindu woman is still calm and serene and has still preserved her peace of mind born of a placid contentment that follows from one's sense of having chosen one's place in life and having done one's duty at the end of each day, amid all the kaleidoscopic

changes that have happened to the fortunes of the Hindus in the political arena. Since the communalistic division of labour, however scientifically specialized by hereditary instincts through a rigid caste system, has broken down with the advent of the modern Industrial Revolution, the same cannot be said of the family life of the Indian home, which will absorb all that was worth preserving in the simple and natural medieval arts and crafts, and thus outlive the evil influences of the Western civilisation, so destructive of home life, and thus redound to a glory reborn, rejuvenated, and resplendent!

In the end let us commend to our readers the following lines from the pen of the learned expounder of the Indian Communalistic philosophy, Dr. R. K. Mukerjee (p. 97, Vol. II., *Ples of Comp. Econ.*, P. S. King & Son), under the heading "Woman's Sphere under Communalism":—

"In India the pre-eminent functions of woman as the queen of the garden, and the mistress of the household, as directing work and the enjoyment of the fruits thereof, creates and re-creates civilisation. As the wife and co-partner, she makes civilisation sweet, beautiful and enjoyable. As the mother of the race, she transmits the fairer fruits; she sacrifices herself for humanity in and through the child. Our religion, which is social appeal enforced and effective, says—she is symbolical of the divine Mother, another form of whom is society. Every other-regarding act is a step in the realisation of the mother in man, who directs the sacrifice of the individual for the family, of the class for society and of society for future generations as yet unborn. Society is not an hypothesis or an abstraction. It has a life and a soul, it calls forth our reverence, regard, love and sacrifice. The mother cultivates and teaches love, reverence and sacrifice in the under-stages which ultimately become the bonds of an organic unity of civilisation. She protects the purity of man and she protects the purity of society. She is the guardian-angel, as the friend of the sick, the incapable and the unfortunate. She not only conserves and protects, but she also educates and inspires; social relationships and institutions are through her raised from human purposive associations to instruments of the

divine will, and it is her imperative need and inalienable right to transmit to posterity the synthetic and culminating gift of man, society and God. These are her eu-psychic functions. The family, with the woman (and her child) as its guardian, is the basis for eugenic and eupsychic reconstruction."

PART VI. THE TRUE LABOUR RELATIONS AND ETHICS OF DISTRIBUTION.

The world is moving fast in its demand of the Labour Government which is synonymous with saying, of the legislators who would be the true custodians of the labour interest of the country. The theory of 'the greatest good of the greatest number' is fast giving way to that of 'the common and equal good of all.' Thus, we should not only guarantee a minimum-comfort wage to all labourers, but should also strike an average-comfort wage which should be the maximum wage paid to any worker in all public departments constituting the State. It is also for the true legislator to live up practically to the ideal of that 'average standard of living' by way of example to the rest of the community. This alone can sweep off all the grabbing tendencies of men—above the commercial and trading classes—taking part in public life and subsisting on the public revenues, backed by all the power of the State, for the stability and security of their position. As for the legislators we have advocated, that the candidates standing for election may be required to be prepared to sacrifice all their wealth either for the public weal or the State, or else to renunciate it in favour of some of their heirs and successors, and withdraw themselves like true "political ascetics" to accept the pittance of a subsistence on the public charities, that is to say, the average-comfort wage guaranteed by the State for the rest of their life. They can thus strike the ideal of an average standard of comfort and make themselves living examples of sacrifice and service to the humanity besides being the true custodian of the lowest labour unit.

Thus alone, we see, the ideal of average-comfort wage will be conducive to a truly proletarian government. Thus, also, the evil of too much power vested into the hands of one class—power as well as wealth—would be avoided. The point, in fact, involves deeper issues than the apparent one, for there is an altogether complete change of the ethics of the constitution of the political fabric. Our view is to evolve and maintain a kind of spiritual state, of which the two bodies—the executive and the legislature—should be inspired and impelled by the pure motive of power or honour—and not that the State should be a common organisation based on force simply to protect the rich against the exploited poor, or to make a little wider distribution of the national resources by sharing with the booty of the capitalist class, those who inherit the earth, and thus somewhat mitigating the evil, or to put a somewhat generous interpretation, that the State should be an impotent organ of the body-politic watching helplessly the state of society in the vain hope that by some natural evolution in the nature of men or things, society will cure itself and provide itself with the remedy of a more equitable distribution of wealth by some perfectly natural means and without the necessity of imposing artificial rules by the legislature. We contend, on the contrary, that the moneyed-interest of the country must be subordinated and kept under control of that band of distinguished workers, organised into what is called the State, who are actuated by the loftiest ideals and purest motives of disinterested service, sacrifice and duty towards humanity. Hence, for all the State servants—the "Great *Kshattriya* order" of the Indo-Aryan polity—we should advocate that their salaries be graded up between the two limits of the actual minimum-wage-in-existence as a result of Supply and Demand of labour and the average-comfort wage fixed upon by the

legislature as the higher limit. But, here, let us remember that this socialistic measure could only be practicably introduced and appreciated after we had curbed the power of capitalism, such as by applying the check of our loan theory (see supra IV) allowing no more than double the return of invested money in broken form, and thereby putting an end to the scourge of our propertied civilisation—that of the exploitation of labour through a monopoly over the instruments of production.

We might, for our purposes, class labour under the following five heads:—

(*i*) Labour performed inside a joint-family.

(*ii*) Labour " consumptively " employed (non-industrial)—*e.g.*, those employed in personal service.

(*iii*) Labour productively employed on capital below a certain value, that is, not being subject to our Theory of State-production.

(*iv*) Factory labour or the modern Cosmopolitan labour.

(*v*) The order of State-servants—or the Great Kshattriya order.

About the first class of workers, principally women, we have already shown in our article on the joint-family, that their labour is performed on the highest plane—firstly, it being " *sui juris* " (self-dependent or independent), and secondly, the highest communistic principle, that of " Work according to capacity and reward according to need," applies to all labour performed within the family. The important bearing which the institution of the joint-family has in the solution of the question of unemployment, has already been fully discussed in the previous article, to which we may invite attention. For the second and the third classes of labourers we will not recommend any fixed minimum wage to be introduced, since in these two classes will generally be found that " crippled and inefficient " labour—" the too young and the too old "—

who are either easily " sweated " to work on meagerest subsistence wages, or can afford to work part time to add an extra something to their income, and hence, we see, in either case no State regulation would be of any avail. Regarding the fourth class, since, admittedly, the factories would be subject to our theory of State-production, we shall not only recommend a " minimum wage " and a " maximum working day " to be introduced, just as most of the civilised countries have now adopted, but, over and above that, we should recommend that long term contracts of employment should be guaranteed by the employers under the control and supervision of the State department having charge of the particular industry. The once employed factory labourers should be guaranteed to find employment elsewhere as soon as becoming unemployed and they should also receive any necessary training required at State expense. As soon as such factories have come to be State-owned and managed, the " Cosmopolitan " labour would rise to the rank of the regular State servants. No doubt, the salaries of some of the old workers, if they continued in service, would have to be cut down to the fixed average-comfort wage, while of others, would be placed on the same increment-scale as of the same class of State-servants. The most highly salaried managers and directors may at best be pensioned off according to the highest scale of pension in State service, as a reward for their services, since they have brought about the consummation of the factory organisation by developing the industry to the maximum investment point and then paying off its private owners by the dividends earned. We need not further dilate upon points of detail and procedure, but let us at once set at naught the doubts of those who may think that this sort of guarantee to labour given by the State, would be taking too much of a burden on the State. Remember, as the

great Socialist, Ferdinand Lassalle put it: "We must widen our notion of the State so as to believe that the State is the institution in which the whole virtue of humanity should be realised." For otherwise, we shall not be justified in substituting the old order of the medieval days—that of simple crafts and guilds—by any new system, such as ours is, having at its command the vast powers of machinery-giants, which are bound to be abused or misused in incapable or less capable hands. Remember that, in the good old simple days of village-economy, the individual could not be as far removed from the eye of the law and Government administration as under our present State Government, neither had his personal needs nor misfortunes so much chance of remaining unnoticed or unredressed. If, indeed, the poorest individual is to be neglected because we have now made a bid for greater material production and for enhancement of our personal luxuries, we cry halt and say, we had better go back. The inexorable law of Retribution will soon be upon our head and we shall be not a whit wiser for building anew on the ashes of the old.

Let us, however, before proceeding further make out a full case in justification of our scheme of the average-comfort wage.

First, let us take the "natural" system based on "free competition" of the present-day society, and recapitulate a few first principles. We know that a skilled labourer turns out either more work, or better quality of it in the same time, or both, than an unskilled worker. The improvement in quantity or quality gives it an added market value, and so his wage must also be greater in the same proportion. It is, again, the triumph of intellect, that it has entered everywhere as an instrument by which to specialize labour, and specialized labour means more production, hence greater remuneration also. The mental

quality is not only much more highly prized, and hence also highly rewarded, above manual labour, but it is in itself highly (perhaps infinitely) graded and differentiated. For proof we may quote from Prof. Taussig:—

(*Ples. of Econ.*, Vol. II, p. 161.) " A wide range in the earnings of individuals doing the same sort of work is a peculiarity of all intellectual occupations. Though some mechanics are more skilful and better paid than others, the differences are not comparable to those between lawyers, physicians, artists, business-men. This is due to the fact that the differences between men in intellectual endowments are vastly greater than the differences in manual vigour and aptitude."

Again, in every service as well as business only few so-called reserved posts can be highly valued or salaried.

The advocates of the competitive system rightly aver that any other system which provides for equal earnings for all kinds of labour would be unnatural, soulless, iniquitous, and against the established rules of all times, not to say of its giving no impetus to future effort and leading to a dull monotony almost intolerable and killing out all poetry and variety of life. Not to speak of the altogether impracticable scheme of extreme communism which seeks to extend the principle of the joint-family to the entire human family, we may notice a general trend of argument of a moderated form of communism running through the pious dreams of many a Socialist thinker and philosopher. It is, generally, to the effect, that only physical labour should be valued and should be the basis of exchange, whilst the mental labour should not count but may be at best specially rewarded in certain cases. This scheme lays a premium on the " virtue " of performing hard and repugnant labour and concedes at the most a subordinate position to mental labour, however contrary to the actual facts of life and experience of all ages it may be. The most probable result of this scheme would be that the intelligence or mental quality of man, not being given sufficient impetus

of remuneration to be developed, will cease to be forthcoming after a certain lapse of time and hence will end in a deadlock of all progress. We may again quote the authority of Prof. Taussig (*Ples. of Econ.*, Vol. II, p. 138):—

"As to them (common labourers), it is far from being true that unattractiveness in an occupation causes wages to be high. The reverse is more nearly true. The hardest, dirtiest, least attractive work gets the lowest pay.

"Evidently in a free society, the explanation of the low wages of this group must be that there are very many persons who can do such work and can do no other. Their offer of abundant labour forces wages down, and they are prevented from making their way to the more favoured groups by the obstacles of environment and lack of training, or by deficiency of inborn qualities."

Still we may not be lost in dismal pessimism, for by a slow reform and introduction of educative measures we can effect a change in the present situation and may look forward to the day when our pious wish to ameliorate the lot of common labour by means of higher wages and greater leisure may be more or less realized. Professor Taussig shares in that optimistic vision in the following:—

(P. 140, *Ibid.*) "But such great discrepancies as the world has hitherto to accept as a matter of course are not inevitable. They bring grave social dangers, in the intensification of class prejudices and class struggles. They bring a false attitude in the rest of the community toward all manual labour,—an unworthy contempt for indispensable work. An elevation of this group to a plane of higher pay and better social regard would indeed mean that other groups would be relatively worse off,—they would no longer secure the fruits of hard labour on cheap terms; but it would mean a better distribution of happiness."

(P. 154, *Ibid.*) "Possibly, the time will come when the social stratification of our time will have been obliterated; when all sorts of work will be rewarded in proportion to the sacrifices

involved; when all sorts will be in equal esteem; when the common labourer and his children will have the same opportunities for education and advancement as the mechanic and the lawyer."

Now, let us see whether any checks are necessary and advantageous to apply in our present natural competitive system, as based on sound principles and reasonable and natural equity of things. We find the manual labour is already nicely graded—the earnings not ranging within very large limits; and no one would question their necessity of remaining as they are. The only harm, too evident, has been wrought by a very wide range of incomes in the intellectual professions, but our object is to concern ourselves with the State services only, since they are maintained from out of the national resources. All State posts and services, divided out under various departmental heads, may be seen to range, more or less, as in business organisations that few of higher posts are made the nucleii of the widening circles of low-paid services. There are, in fact, monopolised posts, fewer in number always in comparison to the pressing competitors, duly and perhaps equally qualified to fill the same. What is, then, the principle of Monopoly?, let us stop to consider.

Nobody would deny the triumph of the law of natural competition to decide in the matter, as to who should fill a certain post. That surely gives impetus to, and sharpens the minds of, many men, and as such does good. Those failing in competition are neither altogether lost, nor doomed for they will fill lower and lower posts—granting perfect mobility and free competition by equal opportunity—thus to the benefit of the community, by raising the general level of intellect. But the question is not about the beneficial effects of competition, for all would grant that, in spite of the heavy sacrifices it might entail for some or many. The question centres round the fact, whether or not the nature of monopoly in the few monopoly

posts is equally soul-killing, equally pernicious and harmful. We see, in industry or business the rate of interest is limited by free competition and goes down ultimately to the general level ; but the case of State services is of the nature of a monopoly business.

Now, here, it may be observed that a perfectly social and free exchange would remedy the evil ; if, of course, not only the principle of equal opportunity and free competition is allowed in all posts, but that educational facilities are equally open to all, and within certain limits of being afforded by both rich and poor alike. The State may as well accomplish this result by devising means for poor and needy students to become self-supporting. As for the advantage of birth, of hereditary talent, or personal parental attention bestowed on the child's early education, which all certainly count for a great deal, irrespective of the cost of education, who can deny the justice of these natural advantages which ought to be the birth-right of all individuals, and which are doubtless a potential factor in the development of talent? The importance of the question of training and educational facilities will be borne out by the following from Professor Taussig (p. 134, *Ibid.*) :—

"Though the analogies from biology strengthen the view that inheritance is all-pervading, the plain facts of every-day life prove that opportunity and environment are of signal importance. . . . . . . Generals probably are born, not made. But colonels and captains can be trained. In the ranks there may be many men who have it in them to become good officers, yet are kept in the ranks because no way is available for bringing out the sterling qualities which they possess."

Hence, assuming the possibility of the complete solution of the difficulties suggested above, the main question remains, as to whether the very existence of such few and highly remunerative posts is justifiable under any condi-

tions in the interest of the community; as to what, if any, are the evils arising out of the system, and how they can be best remedied.

First to give our solution, we have proposed that no difference in the level of salaries should exist beyond a certain point, and that is, say, a University degree qualification. That above this, differentiation should be marked only in rights and privileges, and all conveniences or increased comforts should be afforded to higher State servants in the interest of the efficient working of the State, and for no other consideration. They should not be expected to indulge in any of those further rights or privileges as a matter of right, but should permit themselves to avail of them in the nature of necessity for the State. Their general level of comfort should in no case rise above the conventional average, for firstly, greater comfort is derived from the nature of the better, cleanlier, higher or more congenial kind of work to be done in higher services, and then, as a rule no one should cut himself off from the fundamental basis of a natural man. Further differentiation may certainly be marked in matters of leisure or honour, or scales of leave or pension, or other special concessions, such as provisions for travel as a source of recreation—not to say of those other arrangements already had for the efficient performance of the official duties, such as, housing accommodation, or medical attendance, or an automobile, or a thousand and one other accessories for personal outfit necessary for the office. Above all, the greatest satisfaction that all State servants can or ought to derive must come from higher powers exercised by them or more authority enjoyed by a rise or promotion ; and this, and not the higher emoluments of office should act as the greatest motive power. "Power for its own sake" must be the governing rule or impelling ideal with all State servants except in the education department in which

latter " honour and knowledge for their own sake " should be the motive or the guiding motto.[1]

We shall now summarise all the principles upon which we can justify our view, also point out the numerous other advantages and good results following in its train:—

I. The ideal of average-comfort wage as conducive to a truly proletarian Government.

II. The evil of too much power vested into the hands of one class—power as well as wealth—would be checked.

III. A check to unwholesome competition, such as jobbery. All the corruption bred by moneyed differences, grabbing tendencies for a push upwards, however less deserving, the high bid that goes on collusively for such speculative posts will be checked—a kind of common impulse of harmonious and collective effort will animate the whole order of Government servants : that of serving the public and purifying the machine.

IV. A check to the evil of any great differentiation into " classes." High salaries tend to increase a " consumptive " application of capital by which all the evils of class-formation—such as keeping a train of servants no better than slaves—are bred. The case of consumptive application within one's joint-family is quite the antithesis of this, since in the family the division is based on love and common interest. Whatever conduces to the development of such communistic division of money as within a joint-family is to be encouraged, but, on the contrary, that which leads to class-formations and class-conventionalities must be discouraged.

V. A check to luxuries—not necessaries of efficiency—since when patronised by the State servants they come to

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[1] The author is reliably informed that the principle has been adopted in the Soviet Russia, where even the President of the Soviet Government cannot draw a salary greater than Rs. 450 p.m. approximately.

be the fashion of the day, sometimes under the pretended title of "conventional necessaries." In fact, private wealth with regular incomes as guaranteed in State service, leads to artificial distinctions, useless conventions and "red-tape" hypocrisy. These may help to keep a man decent to a certain degree, but after that mere degeneration in private life sets in. There are three principles on which we would particularly advocate the rejection of luxuries, as such, and hence the disutility of private wealth to certain classes of society, above the trading and commercial interests: (i) Because luxuries have no limit, our wants being infinite. The comfortable things of the world being limited, the less we make a burden of ourselves on the common heritage of the earthly wealth, in proportion to the purpose to be achieved, which is the development of talent or culture, say, the better it is for the good and well-being of the community. (ii) Because, as the proverb soundly based on the study of human psychology, says, "The more we have, the more we want," and we do not want to create a giant of any one man. Hence, it is our duty to curtail our wants except for the necessaries of efficiency. (iii) In the language of Political Economy, we know, that luxuries always reduce the wages capital, and the more productive capital goes to less productive uses.

VI. As for the argument that, 'Since the high State officials have to manage the public funds, in figures running up to millions, and as it is aptly remarked that, "above a certain point it does not rain but pours," they should, therefore, be "bribed to be honest" by means of fabulously high salaries,' we would observe that the inference is just the opposite of the correct one. A person made addicted to a luxurious living is never dependable for a right utilisation of the public moneys, and hence we should conclude that no recruitment for higher services should be made from the richer and so-called upper classes, in prefer-

ence to the poorer but talented ones, also that, the striking of an average standard of living should be aimed at.

VII. By the principle of Maximum happiness the greater incomes derived by the high-salaried few should be distributed among the more needy low-paid servants.

VIII. The principle of public reform : It is when the lower or subordinate officer can freely point his little finger against the injustices and negligence of the higher officer without fear of martyring down himself, that the evil of abuse of authority can be checked ; because the ' many ' of the subordinate services can better guard the omissions of duty of the few higher officers instead of the reverse process that goes on now : of the higher ones to guard and check the lower many. This spirit of an independent character will be more exhibited when common ideals of public service inspire the whole administrative department.

IX. The argument that ' high salaries are of the nature of interest paid on the capital spent on education or training ' may be refuted as in the following words of Professor Taussig (p. 128, *Ibid.*) :—

" The work of the lawyer, the physician, the businessman, is easier as well as intrinsically more interesting, more varied, more attractive, than that of most sorts of manual labourers. Yet, even after due allowance is made for the expensive training called for by these so-called " liberal " professions, their earnings are large as compared with the sacrifices they involve.

" This discrepancy between sacrifice (work) and reward could not exist if choice between occupations were free. . . The obstacles are in some small degree due to a quasi-monopoly in certain occupations; but in the main they are based on the great fact of long-established social stratification."

We may add to this, further, that intellect alone, after all, is not to be valued. What is required is that it should be coupled with the right ideals of service, sacrifice and duty to the public cause. An impetus is all that may be

wanted for the development of talent, but that does not mean it should be made the bone of contention or a seed of discontent, and thus lead to the putrefaction of society.

X. The argument of 'the higher salaries as leading to the saving of capital into private hands' must be naturally a favourite argument of the old economist. We should, firstly, contend that as members belonging to the State and hence responsible for the good management of the public moneys, all State servants should have firm belief in that, there would be a better utilisation, collectively made, of capital saved by national economy, than by separate individuals. Again, what will they do of much capital to retire with, when capital, in order to be quite profitable, must have a priority of investment, otherwise it will be always digging a new well, unless one pursues the mirage of making endless discoveries. Hence, they would be better advised to content themselves with retiring on a fixed pension, or even a gratuity for their children, that should guarantee to them that average standard of living, rather than desire a big lot of capital in addition. As for any fear of parsimony arising from our principles we would suffice to say that our higher limit of pay would not be, after all, starvation wages, and in fact, enough capital should be saved from out of that, just as a daily wage-earner is expected to provide for his old age. Moreover, there being no reason to assume any dearth of talent, while there is every probability of a greater infusion of ideas and ideals, before which even the Almighty Dollar dwindles into insignificance, it would be idle to talk of parsimony.

XI. The question of civil liability of State servants for damages for any unlawful acts or omissions committed by them in discharge of their duties as such servants, can also be disposed off as above. For, firstly, such a defaulting officer can certainly afford to meet the liability

up to a certain measure and if, say, it goes beyond his endurance or capacity, the State should redeem it, just as we have the rule with the French Government.

Let us now close this paper with the hope that our readers will supply the rest of arguments against any other doubts that may be raised in their minds against our view as presented here. And so, in conclusion, let us reiterate again that in order to fight out capitalism, our check to one end is the Loan Theory (supra), and on the other, that of the protection of labour by a Legislature pledged to a faith in the striking out of an average standard of living, and, generally speaking, we take our stand on the "common and equal good of all," within limits of human achievement. Let us close this article with a quotation in support of it from our book (*Ibid.*) :—

"Our aim must be that the greatest number possible should participate in equal comforts of livelihood and that was true of the pre-machinery day, leaving very few cases of exploited labour at one end, and the other extreme of the handfuls of tyrannizing aristocracy based on divine right. But today the greatest number has been precipitated down to the persecuted ranks of the modern "productive" labour, whilst the fold of the higher extreme has also greatly widened out—thus leaving the golden mean of an average middle class man in a most precarious condition of unstable equilibrium, so that instead of forming a happy majority he is pulled in opposite ways by the wire-pulling processes of the modern system: sometimes licked and favoured by the beaming smiles of an aristocrat, and the very next moment threatened to be stranded down to the wretched ranks of common labour and thus finding it too difficult to keep on the coat of respectability intact, he is always living from hand to mouth. Such is the "contented" lot of the average majority!

". . . . As for securing equality of bodily comfort as within a joint-family, experts should determine the average of standard of living. No wages in any (State) department should be paid over that. There is difference in the nature of work of the various professions but if 'all labour is sacred' its remuneration in each line must also be the same. It is true that some are born to order sitting, and the others to obey them only to toil and moil from morn till eve. But when we urge that the remuneration

of both must be at par, you might say that as the various professions differ in the quality of work, so the remuneration in each must depend on the quantity of work turned out by the individual. Well, there, while admitting that it is by all means true that one may do the work involving hours to another in as many minutes, but—and we would make a big but. The thing is, you are not to multiply your gains above that average livelihood, and if work for the sake of work is a joy to you, or if you seek to find " rest in work," you may by all means work gratis, work to lighten up others' duties; but do not make your " extra time more paying." Above that average you have no right, although for anything below that you have got to compete and fight your way. The day when this uniformity is aimed at as the common goal of humanity and the relations between the master and servant smoothed down by this common understanding instead of the commercialistic spirit of Demand and Supply reigning between them, we would have the brightest dawn and a real Millennium crystallized out on our earth—and not the less, the day of the Fulfilment of God's One Great Purpose of embodying human souls on this relative and finite plane of existence! "

PART VII. THE CONSUMMATION OF THE IDEAL.

We shall attempt in this concluding article to connect the positive and the negative postulates of progress between which we drew a distinction in the first article of this series. We hinted that if there were any higher positive laws of evolution, they being transcendental and inexorable in their nature, would have to be reckoned with and conformed to at every step. But those spiritualists who believe in Evolution from within, also hold that this evolution goes on independently of the worldly conditions or institutions, that it must result from a gathering of human experiences through which an individual passes, and that through its mighty instrumentality after a reform in human nature has been effected, the institutions would of themselves have changed accordingly. Thus we have, for instance, in the words of Edward Carpenter :

" I know that even in the midst of all these shackles and impediments, that most wonderful of things, the human soul, may work out its own salvation ; and well I know that there are no conditions or circumstances of human life, nor any profession, from a king to a prostitute that may not become to it the gateway of freedom and immortality."

Thus, again, Thomas Kirkupp, while recognising the two sides of the question, emphasises the positive view in the following words (taken from his article on *Socialism* in the *Chambers' Encyclopaedia*) :—

" The evils of the existing society are not due merely to bad socio-economic and political mechanism; they are rooted in human nature itself. No revolution can produce a magical change in human nature. A revolution can indeed remove abuses; but they always return in a modified form, or the old abuses are replaced by new ones. Human society and human nature can be radically improved only by a long and gradual organic change, economic, political and ethical."

It is, however, but little thought how far wrong institutions and systems of our civilisation are instilling poison into human nature and corrupting it by tempting it away on the evil path ; how the chances for exercising a right discrimination in order to sift between the right and the wrong are so minimised in a system hard bound with the spirit of institutionalism as to make the task impossible. The poor individual drags on helplessly and sceptically with social forms and systems, in which he does not believe, and which march forward with an all-conquering force sweeping away before them such individual opposition as chaff before a storm. Thus at last the biggest ship of society is wrecked by the very forces of retributive justice inherent in what is called society or group *Karma*, which could be at first defied to a degree, but which also gather to a head with the accumulative processes by which institutionalism gathers strength. For, remember, 'the retribution lies in the act itself' according to the law of absolute justice, inherent in the divine scheme of things, while the purposeful Divine Mind sustains the world and gives the individual time to make up his choice through "bitter experience" and by passing from "darkness to light" either to consciously determine the social systems or be determined by them. In the latter event, as the day of doom draws nigh, the society is visited upon by great upheavals, and although each individual may get his share of the penalty or punishment meted out to him according to one's share in the ill-begotten gains from upholding the old order, yet almost everybody is stunned and stupefied by the great shock, and is thrown into confusion worse confounded. That is why as we pass from one revolution in society to another, we are hardly any the wiser for it. Evolution in the past was effected through a painful subconscious process of a round of centuries, but as our intelligence grows, something better

and higher will be demanded of us perhaps at shorter notice, for it seems as if, the inherent law of Mercy of the Absolute Being introduces a new element of time in the processes worked out in accordance with His absolute law of justice, and the time allotted for correction and rectification is according to the need of the individual—the stage in which he is—and so shorter for the more intelligent and longer for the less, before the due condign punishment may be meted out in full. And when the crash befalls a system or the whole civilisation-fabric, the individual is apportioned his share in the punishment, now visited upon the group, according to the extent of the co-operation he has offered to it even through a cycle of births and rebirths.

In all religions the positive laws of evolution are made the subject for exposition, while it lies in the domain of social sciences to treat of the negative aspect. In other words, while the watchword of the one is 'Reform human nature,' that of the other is 'Reform human institutions first.' There are some thinkers and philosophers, however, who after imbibing a deeply religious sentiment, which means generally a belief in positive laws and in the virtue of a simplified and saintly life, come to preach with great force a reform of the human institutions, although, generally speaking, they may lack in a comprehensive study of the social facts of life. But their personality counterbalances this lacking on their part, as in the words of J. S. Mill we have :—

"The superior worth of simplicity of life, the enervating and demoralising effect of the trammels and hypocrisies of artificial society, are ideas which have never been entirely absent from cultivated minds since Rousseau wrote; and they will in time produce their due effect, though at present needing to be asserted as much as ever, and to be asserted by deeds, for words on this subject have nearly exhausted their power."

Thus, for instance, we may take a brief extract from Leo Tolstoy, showing the trend of his main argument, as

based on religion, from which he proceeds to propound his solution for effecting the needed social reform :—

"The error of those who preach Christian Socialism consists in this, that they draw from the Gospels only that practical conclusion of general welfare which is not the aim pointed out by the Gospels, but only the verification of the correctness of the means. The Gospels teach the way of life, and by advancing on this way it happens that material welfare is reached. It is indeed attained, but it is not the aim. If the aim of the Gospel teaching were limited to the attainment of material welfare, then this material welfare would not be attained.

"The aim is higher and more distant. The aim of this teaching is not dependent on material welfare: it is the salvation of the soul, *i.e.*, of that divine element which has been enclosed in man. This salvation is attained by renouncing personal life and therefore also material well-being, and by striving after the welfare of one's neighbours—by love. And it is only by this endeavour that men will, incidentally, attain the greatest welfare of all—the Kindom of God upon earth.

"By striving after personal welfare, neither personal nor general welfare is attained. By striving after self-forgetfulness, both personal and general welfare are attained. . . ."

"The one means is to reveal to men their true welfare, and to show them that wealth not only is not a blessing, but even divests men from welfare, by hiding from them their true welfare.

"There is only one means, and that is to stop up the hole of worldly desire. This alone would give equally distributed heat. And this is exactly the opposite of what the Socialists say and do—trying to augment production, and therefore the general mass of wealth."

Leo Tolstoy, then, summarises three reforms to be introduced not by means of propaganda and education of public opinion, in which most of the Utopian Socialists believe, but his appeal is made directly to the conscience of an individual. According to him :

"There are three means of alleviating the condition of the labourers and of setting up brotherhood among men.

1. Not to make people work for you; neither directly nor indirectly to demand work of them; not to need such articles as demand extra labour—all objects of luxury.

2. To do for oneself and, *if possible*, for others also that work which is tedious and unpleasant.

3. Not in reality a means, but the result and application of the second, to study the laws of nature, and invent processes for the alleviation of labour—machinery, steam, electricity. One will invent what is really needed, and nothing superfluous, only when one invents in order to lighten one's own labour, or at least labour which one has oneself experienced.

"But at present men are engaged in applying only the third means, and even that incorrectly, for they keep aloof from the second, and not only are they unwilling to employ the first and second means, but they do not wish even to hear of them."

These are precious good reforms, indeed, but to our present age any moral preaching of reformers is bound to be viewed with suspicion and unbelief by the people who are generally 'of a mediocre and low level of mentality' as J. S. Mill put it; while any talk of Utopias and Millenniums is positively revolting to their sense of the matter-of-fact and so deemed too contemptible to be worth their notice. In the words of J. S. Mill (*On Liberty*) :—

"All Christians believe that the blessed are the poor and humble and those who are ill-used by the world; and it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven: that they should judge not, lest they be judged; that they should swear not at all; that they should love their neighbour as themselves; that if one take their cloak, they should give him their coat also; that they should take no thought for the morrow; that, if they would be perfect, they should sell all that they have and give it to the poor. They are not insincere when they say that they believe these things. They do believe them, as people believe what they have always heard and never discussed. . . . They have a habitual respect for the sound of them, but no feeling which spreads from the words to the things signified, and forces the mind to take *them* in, and make them conform to the formula. Whenever conduct is concerned, they look round for Mr. A and B to direct them how far to go in obeying Christ.

"Now, we may be well assured that the case was not thus, but far otherwise, with the early Christians. Had it been thus, Christianity never would have expanded from one obscure sect of

the despised Hebrews into the religion of the Roman Empire. When their enemies said, "See how the Christians love one another" (a remark not likely to be made by anybody now), they assuredly had a much livelier feeling of the meaning of their creed than they have ever had since. And to this cause, probably, it is chiefly owing that Christianity now makes so little progress in extending its domain, and, after eighteen centuries, is still nearly confined to Europeans and the descendants of Europeans."

Now since it is no use appealing to the *individuality* of man which is generally sunk into mediocrity, religion has for that matter almost spent away its force, and whatever may have remained of it in name is hardly worth the reckoning. The age-old ethical theory of true human welfare that it consisted in 'human perfection' has been discarded by our present 'scientific Age' by confusing the issues involved in the idea of "Human perfection." Now, for the narrow and confounded vision of our intellect, the only perfection which man is capable of knowing lies in his capacities to do nature's bidding (manifesting itself in the form of instinctive desires) and to attain the reward of his activities through the satisfaction of those desires and the cultivation of all forms of desirable consciousness arising out of the bodily senses. We are too apt to conveniently forget all the teachings of ancient scriptures of religion, which unmistakably allude to such a thing as a "spiritual sense," "the sixth organ" and the development of which alone could distinguish a man from the beast, and supply man with the true criterion for making a distinction between "good" and "evil" according as a certain thing was a help or an obstacle along the path of self-development. It is indeed a queer contrast between this sixth sense (of which some of the well-known powers and qualities are clairvoyance, clairaudience, telepathy, psychic healing, etc.), and the other five bodily senses that the former is exhibited more or less by the subjugation and annihilation of the latter, when the consciousness of man

is so much elevated as almost to cease to operate on the low physical plane of the body. Such men or supermen shall no doubt require a set of laws for governing themselves which shall be very different from that of our own.. For such highly-strung, hypersensitive beings even a slight atmospheric or seasonal change, nay, even the influence of light or lustre cast by a new planet making its appearance in our planetary orb, would produce a marked effect on their constitution, and so their rules of life and conduct will be peculiar according to the laws of their being. Even the slightest bit of "evil" thought would produce a noticeable effect upon their fine emotional nature and both its origin and after-effects would be traceable to their ultimate source or consequence by means of their intuition, and naturally, therefore, crimes would then be perceived and discovered by their infallible tribunals of justice without having recourse to our present-day complicated legal codes.

Any talk of such spiritual powers is nowadays tantamount to the conjuring up of superstitious beliefs, and the unanimous verdict of the West is that every country has had its mythology, its epic and Golden Ages, that the history of the present race of man begins with the gradual evolution of man from the pre-historic times of the 'Stone' or the 'Iron' age down to the present intellectual age. To the Indian, however, who is proud of the most ancient heritage of civilisation the Western historical argument about the process of evolution does not bear conviction and in the absence of supplying a better explanation he would content himself by a vituperative remark that such might have been true of the European races, but certainly did not apply to the most ancient civilisation of the Indo-Aryan race. This sentiment of righteous indignation exhibited by the religiously-minded India has been conspicuously noticed by no less esteemed a writer on oriental problems

than Lord Ronaldshay who has protestingly made the following observations in his recent book, entitled *The Heart of Aryavarta—A Study of the Psychology of Indian Unrest* (Constable) :—

" We may smile our self-satisfied British smile, so deeply ingrained in us is our sense of indisputable superiority. But to the Indian even the superiority we claim is but of yesterday compared with his own knowledge of what is good, broad-based, as he believes, on immutable verities three thousand years old and more. Those verities are religious verities; and in India religion is still the vital force which, except for individual, it has ceased to be in Europe, and a vital force that it is in the power of every man to develop—even to the moving of mountains—by self-renunciation. That is the soul-force which Gandhi preached; and the belief in it goes back to the Vedas from which he drew his inspiration to the story of the great Vishwamitra who, by the practice of the severest austerities through thousand-year periods of self-renunciation won such rewards of the soul-force that the gods themselves trembled lest he should use it to destroy the three worlds, and Brahma himself had to approach him and confer upon him the supreme rank of Brahmanhood before he could be induced to be at rest. . . ."

The esteemed writer does not merely stop at calling into question the immutable religious verities of existence which we have called by the name of ' higher positive laws of existence,' but like any other prophet of our scientific and intellectual age proceeds to argue further :—

" Religion, in spite of the caste system, is the rallying cry of Indian nationalism; . . . Its strength lies both in the rigidity of its social structure and in the elasticity of its philosophy. In none of the great religions of the world has *more metaphysical subtlety* been expended in probing the mystery of existence and the nature of the Divine Being. Hinduism has no dogmas. It allows immense latitude for the *boldest speculations* of which the human mind is capable. . . ." (Our italics).

To refer in one and the same breath to both " religious immutable verities of existence " and " bold speculations and metaphysical subtleties " of a certain religion, would naturally lead a person to suppose that " verities " were

anything but "verities," if not indeed the product of vague speculation. However, to the religiously-minded Hindu, the answer comes easy as being inspired by his great faith and also his characteristic understanding of all such problems, which is somewhat to the following effect:—

"Hindu religion is no mere phantom of imagination or by-product of philosophic or sophistic subtlety. It does deal with verities of existence pertaining to God and God's creation—as real and matter-of-fact as the chemicals in a laboratory test-tube prove to us the immutability of the scientific laws. Hindus do not merely meditate like the Sufis who may be seen to fall in a hypnotic trance. The Hindu believes in God and in seeing God through meditation because his Sages and Rishis—not one or two, but whose number is legion—have realized and seen God face to face and have chalked out a clearest way upon which 'one who runs may read.' Hinduism, as being free of dogma, claims to be the only scientific religion of the world. Go deeper and you will find that religion in Europe could not survive the materialistic age of Science and machinery because that religion was not equally scientific in its conception and growth like the tried and tested hoary religion of the Vedic fame, nurtured in its primeval home of Aryavarta—the land of the sacred Ganga. All other religions were mere off-shoots of the great genus—the Mother of religions—and these same religions will acknowledge the parent and bow down their heads before it as the light of reason and true understanding dawns upon the modern scientifically trained intellect. The Muslims refused to acknowledge the supremacy of the Hindu religion and were certainly not absorbed by the Hindus for that reason—but this was because Muslims and Hindus of the age alike were very low in their intellectual calibre—the Age is different today and however the West may

triumph over her intellectual gifts it will be bound to bow before the spiritual treasures of Ind."

However, the truth seems to be that both schools—Western and Eastern—were true in their own ways. This earth of ours might certainly have been the stage whereon many a drama of human evolution had been enacted, and there is certainly nothing impossible in believing that the races that had spiritually evolved once had passed on to better worlds and left relics of civilisation and culture or even the treasures of their advanced spiritual knowledge—such as in the sacred Vedas—which could still be a guide to the 'enlightened' ones—those blest with faith and understanding—of the present race of men come into being on the same soil and which was essentially the same race as that born in Europe and boasting of European civilisation and culture. The present-day Western Science has taught us to believe only that which may be either before our naked eye or within the telescopic or microscopic vision of our scientific eye, but the man's higher vision has already begun to revolt against this process of stultification of the spirit through our non-belief or scepticism nurtured by the material sciences, since in a spiritual quest faith should precede the attainment of the knowledge of the Infinite. To take one oft-quoted instance of the simplest doctrinal principle which one may accept on faith, we have the rule laid down that, 'one who has practised speaking the truth in the strictest sense, by word, deed and thought, for a certain length of time, shall have acquired such a power born of truth that if by accident he may happen to tell a lie, that piece of falsehood will turn out to be a truth itself by effecting a change in the very circumstances and nature of events.' If the power herein referred to is a real one, if indeed all such spiritual powers, which one may read of in ancient scriptures or imagine for oneself, have any basic reality in them should it then be called

'scientific' on our part to simply and absolutely ignore the whole realms of a spiritual science, which was at one time as real and living as any material science that flourishes today. It is no better than denying the existence of the sun by shutting our own eyes and simply covering our own ignorance by branding others as ignorant.

However, to return to our main theme, it would not be exactly correct to say that our modern knowledge of material sciences produced unbelief in religion by making people more "materialistic," but the real cause at the back of all this unbelief was "mediocrity," and as J. S. Mill has further pointed out, any "eccentricity" of a "genius" born in our age was a "distinct service" to humanity, and the Western society nowadays suffered as much from the disease of mediocrity as the East did from a tyranny of custom. Now, therefore, we arrive at the inevitable conclusion that only "united mass action" in any direction can be successful in forcing the pace of reform, and this too must be achieved by constantly educating public opinion which can only be possible in a peaceful and non-violent atmosphere. But for this special kind of mass revolution only special kind of personalities endowed with an exceptional genius can give the lead. The special qualifications that would be required of our future *reformers*, if we can tolerate the word in the real sense, would be (1) a most comprehensive understanding of all the social problems and their right solution, (2) an almost super-human intuitive or spiritual vision, such as has been attained to perfection by the *yogis* of ancient Indian fame. Nothing short of these qualifications in the future "leader" or reformer, can be of much avail in bringing about a sudden revolution in the march of social progress. Mere intellect, however gigantic and clever, will not move the mass-mind even to a hair's breadth. Merely spiritual power, such as even of a great Indian ***Rishi***

(Master-spiritualist) coming down from the peaks of the Himalayas into our world (or even Christ reborn with the same simple logic on His lips), will still fail to clarify those issues of a complex civilisation, of which the real solution does not lie in simplifying life on the good old model of primitive existence and therefore in denouncing everything with a single cry of 'back to nature' on our lips. The supreme combination of a comprehensive understanding and a spiritual vision—will be the rare gift of future *Avataras*, (*i.e.*, those on whom Divine power has descended), if any there be forthcoming to redeem the world. Meanwhile, our world of mediocre mentality will move on only a step at a time along the path of Evolution, or otherwise take retrograde step, one at a time leading occasionally to a foundering of the ship of society and breaking all society bonds of law and order, as witnessed, for instance, in the last Great War, and this owing to the Law of Retributive Justice.

Let us not, however, give way to pessimism; nor let us be impatient of the world. 'A step at a time' is a very good rule for the individual, as our spiritual teachers would give this lesson to the laity, since all men cannot bring about revolutions in their lives by renouncing the world and fleeing to the jungles for the quest of the Infinite. And so when we talk of reforming social institutions, let us believe that "Penance is the price paid for future progress." Let us add our little mite of contribution to the constructive work of the world to the best of our ability and power and resign ourselves for the fruits thereof to that Great Will of the Creator and Designor of this world of ours, of relativity and of opposites, within which all wills work and play their part as determined by the Great Will. Who knows there may be a big chance now and here in the evolution of the world, and we may make a big haul-up in the very next step?

There will be a sifting of all knowledge and a revaluation of all true values made by the growing intelligence and awakened conscience of the man of tomorrow, who would be imbued with an unquenchable thirst for all truth and especially for the so long obscured knowledge of the Spirit. The scientifically trained intellect, then made pure and consecrated to the quest of the spiritual truth, will then turn its searchlight into the dead and forgotten dogmas of religion now buried with the heap of religious scriptures; and will then truly interpret the real Cosmic Plan and Purpose of the Divine Will! When men are born into this world who are gifted with the spiritual vision and able to interpret the true harmonies of life and the complicate processes by which the Divine Urge of Evolution works its way through the cycles of births and rebirths towards the consummation of the man's higher destiny, the mediocre men of to-day will then believe them and will then alone be prepared to retrace their steps and master the " First step " of 'Self-control, Self-discipline, Penance and Sacrifice' which the Western civilisation so long ignored. Then will people listen to the inner voice of conscience and look to it as the guiding-light which always points out the best course under the circumstances because it knows with the knowledge of our weaknesses, in what our good lies. Then will people believe that the killing of bodily passions is an ideal in itself, if for no better reason, then because it is so in the Divine Scheme of things and hence as much positive to us as the nature of the properties of matter, which are such by the very nature of things and so unalterable ; that the researches of our ancient sages cannot be wrong, for instance, when they said of the human mind, that 'it was a machine given to the individual ego to execute the ego's will, and that so far as the mind went, went *Maya* or Delusion.' Then will people appreciate the value of " Penance " in the words of the Gita (or the

song of the Lord, as delivered by Krishna in the Mahabharata): " In order to master the lower self one should be like unto an adroit charioteer curbing the wily and turbulent horses of desire and passion and avoiding the pitfalls of sensual temptations," and, then, again, the true definition of " virtue " and " vice " will be made in terms of that which leads towards or away from the attainment of the goal of self-realisation or spiritual vision. Then all the researches of the founders of the various religions will be harmonised and adjudged their merit on scientific lines in terms of so much faith and so much virtue (to whomsoever in name dedicated, no matter). Thus will science come to the rescue of religion and religions, thus coalesced into one synthetic and harmonic unity, would have saved science. There will be one religion established in the world—that of faith and worship—of Bhakt-Yogins ! (*i.e.*, the devotees of the Absolute) and there will be seen the largest order of men holding spiritual communion with one another. Just as it is said, that ' half a dozen men made Industrial Revolution,' verily may it be, that half a dozen such men of enlightened vision will transform the world and initiate humanity on the spiritual path away from the pursuit of the Mammon. Then we shall remember those periods of Ancient India (the *Aryavarta*) of not a very remote past like the so-called Epic age, of which the present writer has learnt with pride from some of those gifted with the spiritual vision, that there were ninety per cent of people gifted with such spiritual sight and only ten per cent of the ignorant ones. Then, possibly, we shall have discarded our modern means of communications, and on the contrary, adopted the old simple communal village-life of India, since in each Indian village there was and there still is built a small hermitage under the sacred *Peepul* tree (the Ficus-religiosi) which was the wireless station of the village (called the *Deomut*) and all the news of the world could be broadcasted through

the agency of a single *Sanyasin* (one of the ascetic order) stationed there as the representative of the Great Order of *Sanyasins* which practically ruled over the country and ever guided by their counsels the will of her mighty worldly Kings and Emperors.[1]

So long as this age of understanding and spiritual insight does not dawn upon the world, man will not cease to exploit man. All counsels of wisdom and words of warning are, however, directed by a constant repetition of the truth for those who are prepared to receive them, to listen and to take them to heart. The message of the East—the ancient home of spiritual research—is for such.

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[1] Cf. p. 271, *Man: Whence, How and Whither*: By Mrs. Annie Besant and C. W. Leadbeater. Writing of the Aryan civilisation in Central Asia during periods as early as 60,000 B.C. to 40,000 B.C., the authors state as a result of what they claim clairvoyant investigation a somewhat similar phenomena in the following words:—

"Mindful of the melancholy results in Atlantis of occult power divorced from unselfishness and morality, the instructors in these studies chose their pupils with extreme care, and one of the lieutenants of the Manu maintained a general supervision over such classes. Some of the students, when proficient had it as their special duty to the State to keep the different parts of the Empire in touch with each other; there were no newspapers, but they conducted what may be called a news department. News was not published as a rule, but anyone who wanted news about anyone else in any part of the Empire could go to this central office and obtain it. Thus, there were commissioners for the various countries, each of whom gave information about the country in his charge, obtaining it by occult means. Expeditions sent out on errands of peace or war were thus followed and news was given of them, as in modern days by wireless or other telegraphy.

"On one occasion, when Corona was ruling a distant country, the Manu was not able to impress him with his directions; so He bade one of these trained students to leave his physical body, go astrally to Corona, and materialize himself on arrival; by this device, the message was delivered to Corona in his waking consciousness. In this way the Manu remained as the real Ruler, no matter how far the Empire extended."

The East of to-day is no doubt still rich in her possession of the spiritual mystic lore of old, but those ancient people are no longer born on the land of *Aryavarta*, for they have long since crossed their journeys perhaps to worlds higher and beyond even our dreamlands of the beatific vision—perhaps never to return. The present Hindus, the inheritors of the relics left from the past, belong essentially to the same stock of people as the Europeans or the Westerns—only they have separated to see the truth from different coloured lights. Both of them have the same problems before them and the same journey to complete hand-in-hand, and their destinies are indissolubly knit together by the hand of Providence. While the Westerner has grown in his intelligence and intellectual comprehension, in which respect his Hindu brethren are generally lacking, he would still have to simplify his life now made unnatural in a " materialistic civilisation," in which respect his Hindu brethren lead the way. It is no easier task for the Western world to simplify its life than for the Eastern world to grow in intelligence. Both processes are under way by a re-union of the East and the West and the Purpose of the Divine Will is being fulfilled in the best possible way and the only way. The fittest people to work up the soil and for preparing the ground for the oncoming of the " New Era " are being born both on the soil of India and America—to which two countries we may look forward in the future to give the lead in all directions to all other countries of the world. But the race of man will remain the same and no new race would be born on our earth—only our consciousness will be raised a little and we shall have realised the Unity behind Diversity and the One-ness of All-life.

Now, gentle readers, you have been very patient with us so far. Shall we further initiate you into some of the deeper secrets of the profound mystic lore crystallized

into the hoary civilisation of India, and tell you how her ancient sages have regarded of your modern intellect, as also convey to you the real message of the East, that about the real goal of self-development and self-realisation, which should be the aim and end of all individuals as well as of society? With your permission, then, we shall follow with certain quotations from our book (*Ibid.*, pp. 88—97) :—

" We have already had enough and more of 'extreme utilitarianism' and have in fact, long since outgrown it—and of which the final doom is not far to seek. The present-day labour has only to assert itself and it will find itself all-powerful. The labourite leaders already wield enormous power, for good or bad, sometimes envied by even powerful Governments. Since the labourer is nearest to land and has become the working basis of all industrial organisations, it is but patent that, with closer co-operation on the part of the labouring-class, great upheavals in the civilisation-fabric must be of too frequent occurrence.

We believe, however, we may lay down the conditions ensuring permanent peace in such a state of affairs only by a right understanding of the law at the back of and governing this phenomena, and which law, we repeat, can be fairly interpreted from the practical shape and application given it in the ancient Hindu polity. The law may be put down: 'Those who may show greatest attraction for life on the physical plane as against the intellectual or spiritual must be placed in a more favourable position to satiate their mental cravings, than those on the other two planes.' It is, in fact, just contrary to what we have in the existing society—that the mental labour is valued in coin more highly than the physical, while the coin stands for all the comfortable equipment of the physical life. According to the law the greater learning or spiritualism is to be valued in greater honour and not coin.

But what we have done is to 'prostitute' our intellect and make it an end in itself instead of treating it as a means to the next step higher of unfoldment—the spiritual mind. Thus from an Oriental writer, Yogi Ramcharaka:

" The animal lives its animal life and is contented, for it knows no better. If it has enough to eat—a place to sleep—a mate—it is happy. And some men are likewise. But others find themselves involved in a world of mental discomfort. New wants arise, and the lack of satisfaction brings pain. Civilisation becomes

more and more complex, and brings its new pains as well as new pleasures. Man attaches himself to 'things,' and each day creates for himself artificial wants, which he must labour to meet. His intellect may not lead him upward, but instead may merely enable him to invent new and subtle means and ways of gratifying his senses to a degree impossible to the animals. Some men make a religion of the gratification of their sensuality—their appetites —and become beasts magnified by the power of Intellect."

But once that we have tasted of the unforbidden fruit of knowledge and our "intellect" has come out in full swing, it will take its full toll in human life and blood, before it can be led from "cleverness and self-advertisement" to "goodness and peace of the soul"; from self-aggrandisement to communal co-operation; from outward show back to Reality again. We must, however, face facts as they are; and, after all, the departure has been taken—whether for good or ill, it is an accomplished fact. "Intellect" has entered everywhere as an instrument by which to specialize labour, and specialized labour means more production, hence greater remuneration also. And, remember, it can no more be helped: you cannot stem back the tide of progress of even worldly or material knowledge, the real knowledge will come only with experience when the imperfect knowledge will be further complemented and subordinated to its better half.

. . . The above law as enunciated in this connection may be further briefly expanded as thus:—

Self-development is the greatest joy; but it lies not in satisfying our bodily needs but in overcoming them in favour of the spiritual. The true strength on which an individual can always rely must proceed from inside, must be spiritual. Our duty to our physical bodies is not to supply its wants but to curtail them by reason of some newer and greater spiritual forces and faculties gained. The ideal of curtailing our physical wants is not the preaching of a life of negative asceticism but it is of a higher positivism than treating of the physical. It does never mean that the body must be ultimately annihilated or starved out of existence—nay, it would be farthest from the point to say so, it is too sacred—indeed, the temple of the soul—to be neglected. The aim is self-development through the body-machine which must be used to serve that purpose at the highest efficiency-standard. We should labour not so much to provide our daily-comforts as to keep our bodies internally clean and healthy, which would need less of outward protection—thus to combine the greatest possible economy in the matter of supplying our external wants with due regard to higher self-development.

The ascetics of India bring a message of peace, hope and strength from their forest retreats, for they have realised in wildernesses that the law of Providence is "to supply unfailingly the least possible wants of an individual without even any great exertion on his part, and so they mind not any little inconvenience, but in their seclusion seek to live in the highest plane of spiritualism and as near to Nature as possible. They do not throw themselves at the random mercy of the wild nature—but they go there for the practising undisturbed on their highest methods of self-development. It is not for all to quit their city life and retire to the jungles to follow on their footsteps, as it is not everybody who can find opportunities of conducting highest research-work in our present-day wisdom-laboratories. Indeed, we may quite as well secure in our worldly life the best of chances of our self-development on the higher spiritual lines, given of course the necessary will.

The true test of the spiritually-evolved is whether one has overcome his external wants by an overwhelming sense of internal bliss—the peace of the soul, and thus discovering in the silence of his heart an unbounded source of strength and energy has forgotten the lower nature of the body-temple. All the truth and knowledge being already hidden in the depths of his soul is simply revealed intuitively to his spiritual mind like an open book; and he doubts no longer in the labyrinth of the intellectual regions like ourselves.

Just here we must draw the line of demarcation between the knowledge of the world and the knowledge divine. The former is knowledge gained by the West by proceeding from the external —through a collection of facts and applying a process of logical analysis and classification—to discuss the basic truths hidden from our consciousness: from the leaves toward the roots; whereas the latter way is the Eastern—to strike directly at the root of all knowledge, Power and Bliss, by realising the Soul of souls. As all knowledge must be one, the result aimed at by both processes must always be the very same, but the reward of discovering knowledge by the first method must be adjudged from the utilitarian or worldly point of view—as is actually the case in the Western civilisation—while the reward of knowledge gained by the second course adopted comes with the knowledge itself: in the form of greater bliss and internal strength enabling one to be more and more independent of the external world and hence instead of needing any further reward from the world such a one becomes the source of help and succour to others—the younger brethren of the race. As self-development must be the ultimate

aim of all from the lowest to the highest on the path of spiritual evolution, the second method is the ideal one.

. . . Of course, in accompaniment of our intellectual exertions and cultivation of artistic taste, we would have at least some ground prepared for our spiritual nature to evolve much more quickly than otherwise but still the way is of the " world " and without giving to such a life the touches of idealism due to our growing spiritualism we would make a most bleak and barren sort of our lives lived unproductively in the true sense of sense-development. In fact, all the so-called knowledge of the present world is mere " advertisement business " for pure and simple " commercial purposes " and so to that end it is treated to be. Public opinion and attitude indeed more often reflects the exact truth and in the case of knowledge which is not for its own sake, and which makes one worldly-rich and highly-valued in money must certainly deserve to be traded with as being an efficient instrument of earning bread and butter. Moreover, intellectual occupations also become a source of pleasure to the mind, just as bodily comforts; whereas the joyful Bliss of the Spirit proceeds from within when the mind has been controlled to an unruffled calm and in fact annihilated to nonentity. Herein lies the fundamental difference.

In the ancient Indian polity, the State must be guided and the laws framed by those advanced souls who may have realised the source of knowledge and power within them and as all truly spiritual advancement is along the line towards the realisation of the one-ness of life, such advanced souls would be imbued with all kindness, love and mercy towards the whole humanity, nay, even to all living creatures within our power to help.

Now if the objection is raised that in the absence of such perfected human souls who is to lead the destinies of mankind we would frankly say, showing the spirit of the great universal natural law of adaptability, that we should make the best of selection for men who aspire to be their shadows and prototypes. Let us have men who are most sympathetically and kindly moved towards their brethren; who are most self-sacrificing—so much as to go without their food until there is one human being unprovided with his bread—and not make our parliaments out of the land and commercial monopolists as to-day. Let them who would be the highest-salaried servants of the State spend away all their income in charity and philanthropic works to support the destitute of mankind and by this means to equalize the distribution of wealth—which is the duty of the State and hence of State servants as well,

and not, as we have to-day, empty their pockets on the counters of the merchant-capitalists.

If only our statesmen let apart their " state-craft " and " diplomatic moves " used to set at naught the forces of unequilibrium, but understand for once the abovestated law, as meaning that the common labourer's daily wage must be quite sufficient to amply provide the most nourishing food and other prime necessities of existence and also allowing him to remain as " near to nature " as possible, we would have any amount of peace and plenty—a real milliennium on earth. The fixing of minimum wage will ensure a sufficient investment of capital on land—in fact, this minimum being the real criterion of the prosperity of a country. Moreover, no government should have a right to exist under which any person willing to labour remains unemployed, for it shows its inability to cope with the evil of " comparatively unproductive " application of capital, or in other words, enhancement of luxuries at the cost of human life: " food first and anything else afterwards " must be the rule, and not putting the cart before the horse, as we have to-day.

The rule for the individual is that if he can earn his income by any means just sufficient to meet his elementary wants of life, he must not care to add any further luxuries to his life, including even the luxury of the so-called " self-advancement " through a constant acquisition of the " worldly knowledge," but should devote the best part of his time for spiritual development. And similarly for the ordinary labourer, you may fix an " eight-hours' or twelve-hours' day," whichever you please, but if he cannot be spared sufficient leisure to devote at least two hours of morning and two hours at dusk time for his spiritual progress, his life lived from day to day has been a " veritable dog's one," and the sin of such a coercion must lie at the door of our capitalists and the highest legislatures " who do not see." Similarly, if the labourer does not get the proper conditions, such as a sanitary seclusion, for his meditations in those four hours of morning and evening, which is hard to find in big cities nowadays, it is both a sin for the labourer to occupy himself in such conditions, as well as for the abhorred cities to continue to exist. It is the adoption of such a life that will lead to an understanding that " all labour is sacred," and men would not so frantically as to-day fight for more and more to an endless end of advancement in life, but will show the placid contentment of " living in God " as visible in the slow-moving society of the " teeming millions " of the East."

Thus we have seen, the East teaches the individual to conquer his within in order to conquer his without, and enjoins upon him to engender in his heart strong faith in that, Providence looks after his bodily wants according to his needs, and not the very reverse of it, as we have interchanged functions with God, that we should provide for ourselves by laying down hours of labour, and let God take care of our Dharma, or Duties, or supply the necessity of giving idealistic touches to our barren lives. Such is the high ideal of life to be ultimately aimed at by the individual as well as the society !

We have digressed very far away, indeed, from the hard material facts of the day's life as lived, but sometimes once in a while it not only does good to think of how it ought to be lived, but such a quest towards an understanding of the relative position with respect to the Ideal opens our eyes to a realization of the distance, yet to be crossed, between us and the Ideal.

But apart from any positive progress—*i.e.*, effected in the quality of the men, it is of no less importance to emphasise the need for effecting negative progress, *i.e.*, in our systems and institutions of the civilisation-fabric. Here we may commend to our readers the following words addressed to a certain class of Indian idealists in our book (*Ibid.*, p. 105) :—

" And so while concurring by all means as to the virtues of Dharma, we fail to appreciate how the Dharma evolved in the past can be held out as a panacea for all those evils of machinery and capitalism which had never arisen in the past to which the Indian idealists have a ready answer: " get back to the past condition." And if we contend for a moment its unpracticability and inadvisability they give us a sermon of that most destructive creed of pessimism based on non-belief in the inevitable forward march of humanity in the scale of evolution, much in the like vein as communists who would court revolution first and progress afterwards, and as such they say: " Let us have true Brahmans, as of old, first and we will adopt to modern conditions with their aid and direction afterwards." On the contrary, the importance

of the modern wave of learning as facilitated by the printing-press and the modern means of communication, while no less to see the advantageous side of the increased productiveness due to machinery are under-appreciated by the idealists, who would not share the optimism that at the present rate of progress we are moving in a body to a World-Renaissance—although admittedly often at a tremendous sacrifice—and with the greater unfolding of spiritual consciousness coming to so many of our race we would have a whole race of Yogis and Brahmans and not only an order in the whole."

In conclusion, now, let us confidently expect we shall succeed in purging society of the longest shadow thrown on it by so-called capitalism, and in this attempt there will be both a recasting of the outer machine as well as the resurgence of a truer humanity. Upon our successful emergence from this great trial awaiting humanity, that of successfully tackling and solving the great problem of the age, will depend its future course of Destiny, the choice lying between reconstruction or destruction and annihilation. Let us ever carry in mind, that there is also a dreadful aspect of "Retributive Justice" behind the Divine Scheme of things : the dreadfulness of the theme being represented in the representation of *Goddess Kali* (meaning Black) in Hindu mythology. Therefore, shall we add to this, that rather than credulously deluding ourselves into a belief in a Coming Renaissance, we should feel better advised to lend our faith in the inexorable and transcendental higher positive laws pertaining to *Karma*, of which the existence we postulated in the beginning of our thesis. To give its due importance to this piece of warning, we may make bold, as acting on our belief, to say that every time in previous *Manus* or the Great Cycles of renewals of life on earth following upon cataclysmic destructions of the nature of submersion of whole continents under the sea—thus in each *Manu* science and human arts and crafts had developed to heights not yet even imagined

by us, but the fall became inevitable from the failure of man to grapple successfully with the problem of problems—that of securing real equality of bodily-comfort on the physical plane; and each time the race of man had to be reduced to first principles of living by the manifestation of Divine Wrath, or say Divine Curative Mercy—for He is All-merciful—and the lesson must be learnt sooner or later! Take heed, Oh race of Man, to save thyself from another blundering pitfall!

THE END.

APPENDIX

OUTLINE SCHEME OF SWARAJ.*

BY

THE LATF DESHABANDHU CHITTA RANJAN DAS

AND

SHRI BHAGAVAN DAS.

Extract from the Prefatory Note by the late Shri C. R. Das, dated 30th January, '23.

It was also unanimously agreed that the Outline represents the Ideal which should be kept in view, as one to be gradually worked up to, and that a certain number of intermediate and progressive steps have to intervene, but which must all definitely, unmistakably, steadily and progressively help to change the present regime so as to realise that ideal at no distant date.

CHAPTER I.—ESSENTIAL PRINCIPLES.

The principles which guide this outline are those which have been honoured in India from time immemorial, and have been re-iterated in the Presidential Address of the Gaya Congress,[1] in December, 1922, thus:

"To form a scheme of government, regard must be had

(1) to the formation of local centres more or less on the lines of the ancient village system of India;

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* The text of the Scheme was discussed by the authors in January, 1923, at Benares and was drawn up in detail, as it stands, by Shri Bhagavan Das from notes recorded at the time. It was afterwards seen by the late Shri C. R. Das and agreed in. The appendix was added by Shri Bhagavan Das alone in the form of notes to the various chapters of the Scheme, and he only is responsible for it.

Note—The foot notes in square brackets [ ] have been added by Shri Bhagavan Das for this publication.

[1] [Deshabandhu Chitta-Ranjan Das was the President.]

(2) the growth of larger and larger groups out of the integration of these village centres;

(3) the unifying state should be the result of similar growth;

(4) the village centres and the larger groups must be practically autonomous;

(5) the residuary power of control must remain in the central Government, but the exercise of such power should be exceptional, and for that purpose, proper safeguards should be provided, so that the practical autonomy of the local centres may be maintained, and at the same time, the growth of the central government into a really unifying state may be possible. The ordinary work of such Central Government should be mainly advisory."

I. Briefly, *a maximum of local autonomy*, carried on mainly with advice and co-ordination from, and only *a minimum of control by higher centres*, which will have some special functions besides.

II. To this should be added that *every possible care should be taken to ensure that the people's elected representatives*, who will constitute the Chief Authority for each grade of centre, local and higher, with power to make laws and rules, *shall be*, not self-seekers, but *seekers of the public welfare.*

NOTE TO CHAPTER I

(*a*) Excessive centralization, and the concentration of all power in the hands of a bureaucratic clique, more mindful of its own prestige and emoluments than of the public weal, walling itself off more and more thickly from touch with public opinion, in fact arrogant and disdainful towards the public, regarding itself as public-*master* rather than as public-*servant*—this has, so far, been the bane, in consequence of which the public servant waxes and the public wanes, more and more, every day, in India. Genuine decentralization of administration, substantial distribution of power, and real responsibility of the public servant to the People's trusted

representatives—this is the only remedy. Hence the formulation of practical local autonomy as a fundamental principle.

(*b*) The failure to secure *ethical* fitness, the philanthropic and humanitarian outlook upon life, in the elected legislators,—in consequence of which failure, the laws made by them are not wise and just, but partial to special class interests, and promote an excessive inequality and therefore widespread discontent and conflicts of all kinds and degrees—this is the disastrous and all-vitiating defect of western systems of Swaraj, the cause of all their internal ferments and their external wars, of the enslavement of Labour by Capital, of the many by the few, within each State, and of the ruthless exploitation of weaker nations without. This failure must be strenuously guarded against in our scheme. Hence the formulation of the second fundamental principle.

CHAPTER II.—ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS.

(*a*) *Local Centres.*

1. The foundation of the whole administration should be in Local Centres (*grama* or *mauzā*), small but practically autonomous.

2. A Local Centre should ordinarily consist of a number of villages of which the population should total about ten thousand souls.

(*b*) *Town Centres.*

3. Towns (*nagar* or *shahar*), should form separate entities, and might, as necessary, be subdivided into wards or quarters, of about the same population limits as the rural Local Centres.

(*c*) *District Centres.*

4. Rural and urban Local Centres should be integrated into larger groups of District Centres (*jana-pada* or *zila*) with populations of from five to twenty lakhs.

(d) *Provinces.*

5. District Centres should be integrated into Provincial Organisations.

6. Provinces (*prānta* sooba) should be demarcated on the linguistic basis. Any which are considered too large may be divided into smaller ones.

(e) *All-India Organisation.*

7. The Provincial Organisations should be integrated into and be co-ordinated by an All-India (Bharata-varsha or Hindustan) Organisation according to population.

8. Subject to these general principles, each province should draw up its own scheme of administrative divisions to suit provincial variations.

NOTE TO CHAPTER II

This scheme of administrative divisions is in accord with the time-honoured traditions of the country. The agricultural village and the village community were, are, and ought to continue to be, the natural basis of our special type of culture and civilisation, and of all wise administration in a country ninety per cent of the population of which is rural. Most writers and thinkers about India are agreed in this. In the most ancient days, of which accounts are available, the socio-politico-economical divisions were the village, the group of ten villages, the group of ten tens or a hundred, the group of ten such or a thousand—grama, janapada, pranta, vishaya, bhukṭi, mandala, and so on. In medieval times and the days of the Moghals, the arrangement was much the same—mauza, tappa, pargana, zila, sooba, etc. It is the same today in the Indian States and in the territories under British occupation. The names of the divisions and sub-divisions differ in the different provinces. No radical change can be made in this principle of groupings and integration. But for the purpose of the electoral principle, which worked sub-consciously in the old days of the panchayat and the village community, and has to work consciously and deliberately now, a population basis is suggested for the initial groups and also for the next intermediate groups, though with greater elasticity.

For the third grade, the linguistic basis is the most natural and has been already recognized by the Congress. The fourth and the final grade is governed by many considerations, geographical, political, economical, cultural, etc.; for fixing the outermost boundaries of this whole, no single principle suffices.

The single village cannot well be accepted today as the initial unit of administration. The population of the five hundred thousand villages of Birtish-occupied India varies from a few dozens to a few thousands. Therefore, in the interests of a convenient uniformity, a population basis of approximately ten thousand is suggested. This will give about three to four thousand electors for the Local Panchayat (dealt with in a subsequent chapter)—not too large a number for such common consciousness and general acquaintance, by reputation or directly, as is needed for electoral purposes. For the whole of India, the proportion of women over twenty-one is, roundly, about sixty-five millions out of one hundred and fifty ; and of men over twenty-five, also about sixty-five millions but out of one hundred and sixty.

The treatment of towns as separate entities is suggested for obvious reasons. The difference between the conditions of the two, town and country-village, *pura* and *jana-pada*, *shahar* and *dehat*, has been recognized in all times and climes. The one represents (by no means exclusively, but only by predominant feature) the *intellectual power* (*buddhi*, *aql*) of the people ; the other, their *vital power* (*prana*, *jan*). They are *inter*-dependent. *Both* are necessary for a full civilized life for the People as a whole. But the modern western plutocratic and bureaucratic centralizing tendency causes the town to grow *excessively* and absorbs the vitality of the country inordinately. This excess needs to be checked, and *a just balance between the two* to be restored, in order to prevent disastrous devitalization of the soul and the body of the vast agricultural population, and the consequent crashing down, before long, of the whole much too top-heavy organism.

This balance will be restored by emphasizing the *separate autonomy* of the village groups and the towns—the needed co-ordination and mutual support being secured by the advice, and where absolutely necessary, the control, of the Provincial Authority. The need of this separateness is recognized even under the British regime by the distinction between Municipal Boards and District Boards, though, of course, in that regime, the 'local

self-government' of the Boards is carried on under the strict '*other*-government' of the district officials.

The reason for fixing more elastic population-limits for the District and Town Groups is this. In the Punjab, the population of the existing twenty-nine districts varies from five lakhs to ten lakhs, and gives an average of about seven lakhs. The twenty-six districts of Bombay vary between three and twelve lakhs, and give an average of eight. The average for Bengal is sixteen ; the largest population, not only in Bengal, but the whole of India, being that of Mymensingh, *i.e.*, forty-five lakhs. The average for Madras is also sixteen. Also for Bihar. That for the U. P., ten. Some of the larger districts, for instance, Mymensing with forty-five lakhs, Vizagapatam and Gorakhpur with thirty-two each, Dacca and Darbhanga with thirty each, Muzaffarpur and Midnapore with twenty-eight each, are too bulky for convenience of autonomous administration. Even the men of the Biritish regime have been thinking of dividing some of them into two or three districts each. The capital towns have eleven or twelve lakhs. The lower limit for towns may be regarded as ten thousand. The Census officials of the present regime have defined the town as every continuous collection of houses inhabited by not less than five thousand persons. Ten thousand is suggested in the text, later on, in view of the fact that that figure has been suggested for the rural Local Centre also. In British-occupied India, there are about twelve hundred 'towns' or villages, with a population of between five and ten thousand each, or a total of about eighty lakhs. In view of such facts, elastic limits, of five to twenty lakhs, have been suggested for the District. For purposes of symmetry, the figure might have been fixed at ten lakhs uniformly. It is the actual average for the two hundred and seventy-five districts of British-occupied India. But the centre of a district has, ordinarily, to be a fair-sized town. And in tracts where towns are few and far between, large agricultural areas and populations have to be grouped around and with them. Natural boundaries, rivers, forests, ranges of hills, etc., also make for variation of area and population.[1]

[1] [Aristotle without railway and telegraph and steamship and cable and wireless and printing-press, thought the population for an ideal state was a minimum ten thousand and a maximum of one hundred thousand, and the area, as far as a herald's voice could reach. Even the much later Rousseau, the philosopher of the French Revolution thought of ten thousand. The present Scheme synthesises Aristotle's and Rousseau's midget with the modern leviathan of hundreds of millions of human beings and millions of square miles.]

CHAPTER III.—ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS.

Functions should be as below:

A. (*i*) Provision for appropriate *Education* of all educable children and youth of both sexes (*Shiksha* or *Talim*) by means of schools, colleges, polytechniques, universities, laboratories, observatories, etc.

(*ii*) Provision for educative and cultural *Re-creation* (*vinoda or did-bastagi*), *e.g.*, Public Gardens, Botanical Gardens, Zoos, Parks, Museums, Playing-grounds, Libraries, Reading Rooms, Art-galleries, Popular Lectures, Recitations, Processions, Pageants, Religious Festivals (Katha, Yatra, Kala-kshepam, Kirtana, Ram-lila, Krishna-lila, Maulud, Christmas and Easter celebrations, etc.), refining, elevating and instructive Dramas, Cinema and Magic Lantern shows, games and sports, etc.

B. Provision for *Protection* (*Raksha* or *Hifazat*), by means of

(*i*) Police and Local Militia and Regular Military Forces;

(*ii*) Justice and Settlement of Disputes, through Arbitration Courts or Panchayats in the narrower sense, and Registration of Deeds;

(*iii*) Appropriate Medical help and Sanitation.

C. Provision for *Economic and Industrial Welfare* (*Jivika* or *Maash*), by promotion of

(*i*) Agriculture (*Krishi* or *Zira-at*);

(*ii*) Cattle-breeding (*Go-raksha* or *Taraqqi-maweshi*), *i.e.*, increase and preservation of domestic animals of all kinds, for purposes of milk, wool, plough, transport, etc.

(*iii*) Other Productive Industries relating to Mines, Forests, Fisheries, Salt, Sericulture, Arboriculture, etc., (*Akara-karma* or *Madaniyat*, etc.);

(*iv*) Arts and Crafts and Manufactures of all kinds (*Shilpa* or *Sanaat-hirfat*);

(*v*) Trade and Commerce (*Vanijya* or *Tijarat*); and

(*vi*) By promotion and regulation of the various means which subserve the above, *e.g*., Taxes, Rates and Revenues, Tariff and Customs, Railways, Post, Telegraph and Telephone, Shipping, Harbours, Light-houses, Aircraft, Roads, Waterways, Irrigation, Canals, Bridges, Ferries, Vehicular Traffic, Presses, Public Buildings, Monuments, Rest-Houses, Currency, Weights and Measures, Banks, Co-operative Societies, Factories, Public property, and Private property, Measures of Flood and Famine Relief, Surveys (Geographical, Geological, Botanical, Meteorological, Statistical, Archæological, etc.), Friendly Relations with other States, etc.

D. The above provisions would be made

(*i*) by means of laws and rules which would be framed by the different grades of Panchayats, and would have force within the domains of their respective makers, the enactments of the lower grades of Councils being made with advice from and co-ordination by the higher when needed;[1]

(*ii*) by appointment of executive officials (who would be wholly responsible to the Councils appointing them) to carry out the laws and rules; and

(*iii*) by supervision of their work.

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[1] [The objection has been taken that there would be thousands of Communes, and each having its own laws and rules would mean utter disintegration. The objection overlooks the co-ordinating higher bodies. Even today, under the British regime, a single province, the U.P., for instance, has over eighty municipalities and about fifty districts, and each has its independent board with its own rules, bye-lands, and minute-book of resolutions. But the rules of all are the same, following one set of model rules framed by the Government, the bye-laws are nearly the same, with small variations, the resolutions are special and different.]

NOTE TO CHAPTER III

Western writers divide the functions of government, into (i) Constituent or Protective, and (ii) Ministrant or Promotive. The former are what may be called negative mainly, (*a*) the prevention of crimes and breaches of peace, and (*b*) adjustment of wrongs; in other words preventive and curative, or police-military and judicial. The others are positive and constructive, the active promotion of the welfare of the community.

The *laisser faire* school of socio-political thought, looking at the mischievous consequences of over-interference by the State, *i.e.*, the Bureaucracy, would confine the duties of government to the former only; and would give to the individuals, regarded as units, who compose the Public or People, full liberty to work out their own destiny in their own ways, in competition with each other so far as positive welfare or 'success in life'—whatever that might mean—is concerned. This is the school of Individualism. Another school, looking at the immense waste of energy and life, which results from unregulated competition, and at the exploitation of the less cunning and less able 'many' by the more cunning and strong 'few' (so that the evils of bureaucracy reappear as the evils of plutocracy) and also realising that widespread and substantial and lasting 'success in life' depends more upon 'mutual aid' and co-operation and communal organization, than upon individual enterprise, recommend State-regulation and the free exercise of promotive functions by the State in new ways which will obviate the evils resulting from bureaucracy. This school of thought is generally known as that of Socialism; but by differences of views as to the ways, becomes divided into many, known as Collectivism, Communism, Anarchism, State-socialism, Guild-socialism, etc.

As usual, the truth is in the golden mean, and error in the extremes. The best course is the middle course. Our Swaraj must maintain a balance between Individualism and Socialism, (*swartha* and *parartha*); must reconcile the two. For ***both*** are ***necessary*** to full civilized life, even as the pronouns 'I' and 'We.' The needed reconcilition will be effected by maximising local elective autonomy and minimizing centralization.

As to the preventive and curative functions, Police-Military and Justice, there is no dispute. Also as regards Medicative and Sanitative, which may be regarded partly as protective and partly

as promotive, sanitation being preventive of disease and promotive of health, and Medication being curative of ills.

But a certain amount of 'promotive' work must also be done by the various grades of Centres. This work may be grouped under two main heads, the promotion (*i*) of right Education, the very foundation of all communal welfare, (and therefore placed here before even Protection), and (*ii*) of Economic and Industrial Well-being. Education will include Recreation also, as being indirect education in a popular and elastic and almost more effective form.

It is the duty of the elders of the family (*i*) to protect the younger generation, (*ii*) to amuse and educate them, (*iii*) to settle them in life, to put them in the way of earning a livelihood. The duty, the right, the function, of the elders of the village, of the districts, of the provinces, of the country as a great whole, is *none other*. All the functions of government are either these, or subsidiary to these.

A word may be specially added here on the subject of Recreation. The object of measures under this head would be twofold: (*i*) to provide such *refined entertainment*, for young and old alike, as will give healthy *relaxation*, as well as healthy *tône*, and also *indirect* yet very useful *education*, or culture, to the mind and body of all sections of the public, in leisure hours; and (*ii*) at the same time to *displace the evil recreations*, of drink and drugs and other social vices and harmful indulgences. It should be borne in mind that *some* recreations human beings *will* have; and where healthy ones are not easily available, evil ones *will* be resorted to. Therefore every "don't" should be accompanied by a "do this other thing."

The desirability should be considered here, of putting provision for "Places of public worship for the various creeds" among the duties of Panchayats, under the head of Education and Recreation, and putting it even in the forefront. The Worship of the Infinite (a more indubitable fact than the Finite), is Re-creation, "creation anew," re-freshing of the soul and the finer elements of the body, nourishment for the inmost heart, in a very real sense. That the Elders of the Commune should have the duty of making this provision duly (and separately only to the extent unavoidably necessary, and with at least one place where members of *all* and *any* creed might join occasionally in a Common Prayer worded so as to be acceptable to all)—this would conduce to the liberalisation of all the creeds

concerned and thence to the Religious Peace which is indispensable for India's and the world's progress.

CHAPTER IV.—PANCHAYATS AND ALLOCATION OF FUNCTIONS.

A. Local Centres or Communes and Local Panchayats.

(*a*) For each rural or urban Local Centre or Commune there should be one Local Panchayat of twenty-one periodically elected members.

(*b*) This Panchayat should be in charge of the different functional departments mentioned above, so far as the Commune affords scope for them, and should carry on the work by means of sub-committees.

(*c*) Under *Education*.

(*i*) they would maintain local Schools, giving elementary cultural and vocational-technical instruction, and

(*ii*) would provide for suitable *Recreation*.

(*d*) Under *Protection*,

(*i*) they would appoint their own *Chaukidars* (Watchmen), and would form Local Militia out of such chaukidars and other able-bodied men, and would provide for their proper training;

(*ii*) they would arrange for Arbitration Courts (the members of which would be separately elected), which would deal with simple civil (including what are now known as rent and revenue, *divani* and *mal* or *artha-vivada*) and criminal (*faujdari* or *parushya-vivada*) cases;

(*iii*) they would also maintain an adequate Hospital (*chikitsalaya* or *srafa-khana*) a Veterinary Hospital, and Medical Staff which would provide treatment free and be responsible for the proper Sanitation of the Commune.

(*e*) Under *Economical and Industrial Ministration*, they would see

(*i*) that all arable lands are properly tilled, and village commons, playing-grounds, pasture-lands, groves, orchards, etc., are properly maintained, and a sufficiency of necessaries, especially corn, cotton, and cattle (or other forms of food, clothing, and accessories, in specially circumstanced tracts), for the use of the Commune, is always available within their jurisdiction;

(*ii*) that co-operative organisations, in the shape of Stores, Banks, etc., are maintained in the needed numbers;

(*iii*) that wells, tanks, *tals*, canals, and all means of supply of good water for drinking and other domestic purposes, and for irrigation, and all roads, etc., within their Commune, are properly maintained;

(*iv*) that production of surplus corn, cotton, cattle, and other necessaries as well as comforts, and of mineral and other products and means of increasing the wealth of the locality is encouraged, cottage-industries promoted, and arrangements made for commercial dealing with this produce in such a manner as to avoid competitive waste.

B. Intermediate Centres or Districts and District Panchayats.

(*a*) The District Panchayat should be constituted by each Local Panchayat (or group of Local Panchayats) periodically choosing one member, who may or may not be one of them; provided that the total number of members should not exceed one hundred; and provided also that at least two-fifths of them should be residents of towns.

(*b*) They would form sub-committees among themselves on the lines before mentioned.

(*c*) The District Panchayat would generally *advise* and *not control* the Local Panchayat, in respect of all

functions. Special provision would be made for such control as may be occasionally or absolutely necessary.

(*d*)—(*i*) Under *Education*, the District Panchayat should maintain one or more higher educational institutions (like colleges and high schools) as may be necessary, which would give cultural as well as technical instruction.

(*ii*) They would also provide *Recreation*, arranging for the more expensive items which may not be within the means of the Local Panchayats.

(*e*) Under *Protection*, they would

(*i*) co-ordinate the Local Police;

(*ii*) arrange to maintain some special Reserve or District Police;

(*iii*) organise and co-ordinate the Local Militia, so that they might discharge the functions of a disciplined Army; and

(*iv*) Maintain one or more larger Hospitals and supply medical and sanitary advice to their Communes.

(*f*) Under *Economic and Industrial Ministration*, the District Panchayat would

(*i*) co-ordinate the Local Banks and Stores and other local economic and industrial and commercial enterprises; and

(*ii*) organise or promote independent such enterprises.

C. Town Centres and Town Panchayats.

(*a*) Aggregations of dwellings containing ten thousand or more inhabitants should be regarded as towns.

(*b*) Towns should be organised in the same way, generally, as the rural Local Centres; and the same general principles should be applied to their functioning as to the rural Local Centres, as far as practicable, but regard must be had to the special variations in the economic and other circumstances.

(*c*) For the purposes of the integration of the District Centres and the election of the District Panchayats, the rural and the urban Local Centres should be counted side by side as component units; and the headquarters or the seat of the District Panchayats would ordinarily be the largest town of the district.

(*d*) For the purpose of unifying the administration of each town as a single whole, the Town's Members of the District Councils, together with such other members as may be specially elected by the Ward-Panchayats, in the proportion of two or more per ward, should form a Town Panchayat (like the present Municipal Boards), which would be intermediate between the urban Local (*i.e.*, Ward) Panchayats and the District Panchayat, and would discharge as many of the functions of the District Council, towards the whole Town, as may be conveniently possible.

D. Provinces and Provincial Panchayats.

(*a*) The Provincial Panchayats should consist of members elected by the District Panchayats in the proportion of one for every two lakhs of the population; provided that the total number should not fall below twenty-one, nor exceed one hundred; and provided also that at least half the number should be urban residents. They may or may not be members of the District Panchayats.

(*b*) The Provincial Panchayat would advise the District Panchayats and co-ordinate them and their work, using residuary powers of control under proper safeguards.

(*c*) Its special work would be

(*i*) to maintain advanced Educational Institutions (in the nature of Vidya-pithas, Dar-ul-ulums, "Seats of Learning," "Centres of Knowledge," Universities) which would give expert cultural and technical training and promote research;

(*ii*) to maintain special Police and Military Forces, for the guarding of Frontiers, Sea-boards, etc.;

(*iii*) to make provision for Justice in special cases;

(*iv*) to administer Provincial Railways, Water-works, Canals, Roads, etc.

E. The India Panchayat.

(*a*) The All-India Panchayat should consist of members elected by the Provincial Panchayats in the proportion of one for every thirty lakhs of population, but Provinces which may have a total population of less than thirty lakhs would send one representative. At least three-fifths of the members should be urban.

(*b*) The functions of the India Panchayat would be similar to those of the Provincial Panchayat *mutatis mutandis;* a special one would be to deal with neighbouring States (including Indian States) and Foreign Countries.

(*c*) The India Panchayat should create a Consulting Senate, consisting of eminent men and women of thought and special knowledge, belonging to all parts of India, who would be elected by the India Panchayat, from time to time, without restriction of numbers, etc., and who would be asked for advice on any subject, as needed, by the India Panchayat or the Provincial Panchayats.

(*d*) The language of the India Panchayat should be Hindustani while the Provinces would use their mother tongues.

F. Special Provision for Filling up Vacancies.

Generally, if a member of a lower Council is elected to a higher, his place may be filled up by a new election by the same electorate.

Note to Chapter IV

The placing of the headquarters of the District Panchayat in the largest town of the district will make the co-ordination of the

administration of the town and the country easy. And it is in accordance with natural tendency. The danger that the town may begin to dominate the country, is guarded against by the provision that the country members of the District Panchayat should be in the majority.

The proportion of the two classes of members is made equal in the Provincial Panchayat, and reversed in the Indian Panchayat, because the upper bodies have to deal more and more with technical and non-agricultural affairs.

The Essential Change.

"*Advisory* and not *mandatory* excepting in rare cases"—this is the essence of the change needed in the administration. The change is one of *spirit*. The details of the official executive machinery may remain much as they are now; but if the executive, the judicial, and the legislative powers are separated, and the 'legislators' (in the broad sense) who compose the Panchayats, of all grades, are elected, and the higher Panchayats ordinarily *advise* and not *command* the lower Panchayat, and the executive officials are really responsible to the Panchayats, then, it is expected, the evils of the present regime will be cured. For the autocracy of the Bureaucracy will be replaced by what may be called an aristo-democracy. Aristocracy, because the Panchayats will be composed of the *best* and most trusted and honoured of the people; demo-cracy because the people will *choose* them. The members of the Panchayats would not exercise any executive powers directly, either in their individual or their corporate capacity, but would only make laws or rules or pass resolutions. These would be carried out by the Executive (i.e., the permanent salaried public servants of all departments whatever). And the Executive or at least the chief officials thereof, would be appointed, advanced, and, if necessary, dismissed or otherwise punished, by the Panchayats. In some cases the executive official may be an elected one. He too would be subject to the supervision of the Panchayats. The control of the Panchayat-Legislative would thus be exercised over the Executive by means of this power of appointment, dismissal or advancement. The Judiciary would be mostly elective also, subject to approval by the Panchayat-Legislative.

This separation of powers would minimise the temptations to, and opportunities of, corruption for all, and would make the Executive (including the Judiciary) *responsible* to the People, in the

persons of their Elect, which responsibility is the one great desideratum today.

It will be remembered that Mr. Gokhale suggested and endeavoured that Advisory Committees should be formed in each district, to advise the district officer in all important matters. Of course, the Bureaucracy declined, on the ground that it would interfere with the individual responsibility of the district officer. When they said 'responsibility,' they, of course, meant ir-responsibility; for when was the district officer responsible, and to whom? If he was or is responsible at all, it was and is only to the Bureaucratic Clique. If Mr. Gokhale could have agreed, as was suggested in some quarters, that the Advisory Committee should be nominated by the district officer himself, then, indeed, there would have been no difficulty in the acceptance of his suggestion. Only, then each district officer would have had a standing Darbar of so many courtiers, the nawab-ic arrangement would have been complete, and the People would have been worse off than before.

What is needed is that the Advisory Committee should be a Panchayat made up of the Elders of the People, which will not "*interfere*" with the pretended and non-existent responsibility of the executive official, but will make it *real* and *enforce* it.

Measures are outlined later on, for further safeguarding and ensuring, as far as is humanly possible, the uprightness of the members of the Panchayats themselves; for such safeguarding is the very heart of the whole scheme.

It should be noted that, though option is given, the presumption is that the majority of the members of the higher Panchayats will be chosen from among the members of the lower, who will be all directly elected by the People. Constant and sympathetic touch and unity of spirit and of work will thus be maintained throughout, and the People will, for all practical purposes, directly elect to all the Panchayats, Local, Intermediate and Central, even though, technically, the election to the latter will be by a process of distillation through electoral colleges. The latter process has some advantages, which too will be secured by this method. The immense worry and trouble and expense of holding huge elections, by millions upon millions of voters, over and over again, for a handful of seats, would be all saved. And in the Local Panchayats, with their small area and population and through them, in the

upper ones, the elected and the electors will be in constant touch with each other, and public opinion will carry its full weight and receive its full due,. influencing the members of the Local Panchayats and through them those of the upper ones effectively. [1]

It is very desirable that there should be a certain number of persons who should belong to all grades of Panchayats. They would serve as the personal linking medium and would bind together all parts of India continuously and effectively, and at the same time keep all the centres in real touch with each other. And this would be one important measure for guarding against the *fissiparous tendency*, the possibility (which is always present in federations of practically autonomous areas and communities) of their falling apart, under the influence of false provincialisms and insularities and other such causes (which are very liable to be fostered by the linguistic demarcation), and so weakening the whole. Another measure is connected with finance, in the shape of some special All-India taxation ; and a third, with the use of a common language by the All-India Panchayat. Both are mentioned in their proper places.

In this way, the virtuous (and not the vicious), circle of (not to use the harsh word 'government,' but) administration of the affairs of the People, for the People, (by the People's Trusted and Chosen Elders), will be wholesomely completed. Human affairs should be administered by those who know human nature in mind and body; a People's affairs should be administered by those who are its Elect and are in constant and sympathetic touch with, and therefore know, the People and their requirements of body and mind.

It will be seen that, under the scheme, the District Councils will be fairly large in point of numbers. A district of the maximum population of twenty lakhs, will have a Panchayat of one hundred members; whereas the provinces which are largest in population (at present) will have no more in their Provincial Panchayats. As the bulk of the administrative work will be disposed of by the

[1] [The question whether all elections should be direct, or those for the upper bodies, should be indirect, is, no doubt, very debateable. There are pros and cons on each side. But, in view of the special circumstances of India, the system recommended in the text has seemed the most suitable, to the authors of the scheme. It appears that, by a curious coincidence, the Soviet Constitution of Russia, is somewhat similar; coincidence, in that I had no information as to the nature of that Constitution, and, so far as I am aware, the Deshabandhu too had none, when we were working at this. But the coincidence is perfectly natural, seeing the Russian conditions are very similar, vast areas, large popul ation, the bulk of it agricultural and living in the villages.]

Local and the District Councils, when they are really autonomous very large numbers for the upper Council are unnecessary from the standpoint of disposal and distribution of work between and by sub-committees. Very large numbers are also otherwise undesirable in deliberative bodies. The personnel may be changed at short intervals, by framing rules in that behalf. It may be observed here that these sub-committees properly framed and used, would correspond to heads of guilds, and would secure to the communal administration, the advantages, on a higher level, of the village-community as well as the city-guilds-system.

CHAPTER V.—THE QUALIFICATIONS OF THE CHOOSERS AND THE CHOSEN.

1. Every individual of either sex, who has resided in India for at least seven years, and is at least twenty-five years of age if a man, and twenty-one years if a woman, should be entitled to elect to the Local Panchayat.

2. The members of the Local Panchayat should elect to the District Panchayat.

3. The members of the District Panchayat should elect to the Provincial Panchayat.

4. The members of the Provincial Panchayat should elect to the India Panchayat.

5. The members of all four grades of Panchayats should be permanent residents of the country, preferably of the particular centre, and should be chosen irrespective of their creed, caste, class, color, race, or sex, but subject to adjustment, where unavoidably necessary, for purposes of creedal or communal representation.

6. Such representatives should ordinarily be not less than forty years of age; should have done some good work in any walk of life; should, if rural, be at least literate, and, if urban, should possess higher educational qualifications, and, in the case of rural and urban members of the

Provincial and India Councils, should have corresponding higher and superior educational qualifications or equivalent expert experience; should have retired from competitive business or other professional life of bread-winning or money-making, and be able to support themselves on their own savings, or be assured of all necessaries and personal requirements by their families or friends; should give practically all their time to national work, and should do so without any cash remuneration. But their travelling and other *ex-officio* expenses, which might be necessary to enable them to discharge their public duties, should be met from State funds, and their status as Members of Panchayat should be regarded as having greater honor attached to it than any salaried office, so that they would receive precedence at public functions.

7. The members of each Panchayat should possess, between them, experience of all the main departments of the communal life which they have to administer.[1]

8. No one should offer himself, or canvass for himself, as a candidate for election; but, if requested by electors, he might publicly signify his consent to accept the burden of office, if elected.

NOTE TO CHAPTER V.

With regard to the ages suggested for Electors, the idea is that only those who are mature in body and mind, and have had some experience of life, and especially of family responsibility, should be entrusted with the duty of choosing those who would rule their affairs. The ages suggested would ordinarily give these requisites in India. It seems that in England the difference is reversed, twenty-one is fixed for men and thirty for women. Perhaps it was thought that at the earlier age, women would be too busy with family cares and work inside the home, to be

[1] [That is, generally speaking, the members should represent, in adequate numbers for each, either (1) Learning, Art and Science, or (2) Defensive power and Military skill and Executive ability, or (3) Property and Trade and Capital, or (4) Industry and Craft and Labour.]

able to take much interest in the work outside. In India women are as mature in body and mind at twenty-one as men at twenty-five; and these different ages, if fixed as suggested, would generally enable husband and wife to go to the poll together.

As regards the qualifications of the elected it has been said at the outset that the conditions for election should be such as would make it humanly probable that the electees may be seekers of public weal and not self-seekers. The qualifications mentioned in the Outline Scheme are as "the outward symbols of the inward grace." They are such as ordinarily go with the wise and self-denying and philanthropic nature. The reasons for suggesting them may be mentioned in greater detail as below.

(*a*) Legislators should be permanent residents of the country for which they are to legislate; but their creed, caste, class, colour, race, or sex should not, as such, be regarded either as a qualification or as a disqualification. Without permanent residence in the country, sympathetic understanding is not possible; while taking account of creed, caste, etc., in the elections, imports into the resulting legislature the vicious spirit of conflicting interests and party-politics in place of the virtuous spirit of each caring for all. But if, because, at present, there is much creed and caste and class jealousy existent in the country, it should seem necessary that some exceptions should be made, there is room left for communal representation. It is to be trusted, however, that once the scheme begins to work, the whole atmosphere would change so that these jealousies would disappear, and it would be realised by all that civic well-being is independent of creeds and sectarian beliefs, as has been realized in Japan.

(*b*) At forty, persons have well passed middle age and usually have children of their own and thus experience of the household life. This would make it reasonably probable that the legislator possesses intimate knowledge of human nature in its more common and important aspects, knows what responsibility for the well-being of other means, and has sober and mature judgment. But he should have also retired from all competitive bread-winning or money-making, and should be living on his past earnings or on a 'pension.' So, he would feel financially independent; his outlook upon life, his attitude towards his fellow-being, would have changed from that of selfish taking to that of unselfish giving; and he would have all the leisure needed for his public duties.

It may be that many persons are not able to retire from their business or profession at forty. But we do not want many. Exceptions will be able to. And we want exceptionally selfless men for this essential and highest kind of public work. Twenty-one persons in ten thousand are not too many to expect. If the country cannot provide even so much self-denial, it may as well give up all attempt at Swaraj. But the country *has* been showing capacity for self-denial ; and there is no need to be doubtful. Moreover, if few people are in a position to give up business or profession at forty, many *can* and *ought to*, at forty-five or fifty, with considerable benefit to the whole moral tone of themselves and their community. And if the Panchayat members are fifty years or more, there is no harm done, but rather more mature wisdom and experience secured. After all, even under the current arrangements, the deliberative and legislative and guiding assemblies of most nations and communities are mostly composed of grey-haired persons and in these, again, the real leaders of debate and discussion are almost invariably beyond fifty years. A younger and physically more vigorous and active age is wanted in the executive offices, where action is required more than thought. It has to be remembered that the old *have been young*, and *know* what the young know ; but the young *have not* been old, and *do not know* what the old know ; though it is devoutly to be prayed that they may all become very very old and learn all that the old know, except the pains of old age ! It may be that many persons tend to become mentally inactive also, after fifty-five or sixty. But between forty-five and fifty-five is ordinarily, a very good age for the kind of deliberative and legislative work we have in view here. And there are cases, though rare, (and, as said before, legislators should be persons of rare qualifications) in which the mind is thoroughly capable and active, and the body healthy, right up to seventy or more. But it may be worth while to fix a maximum age-limit also, say sixty or sixty-five as the minimum is forty.

Provision may also be made for exceptions. It may be that these high age-limits will sometimes exclude really brilliant younger men. Our conception of the legislator requires not *brilliance* but *wisdom*. Brilliance comes and goes, and plays false and proves tinsel, and makes messes, but wisdom lingers. Wisdom is matured knowledge *plus* philanthropy, patriarchal benevolence. Brilliance may well wait and mature into a softer, steadier, soberer

light and do its duty so much the better *after* attaining the forty years. If it is substantial, it will not get extinguished by waiting a few years. Yet, for cases in which the work of the Panchayat concerned is likely to suffer if any particular person is shut out because of the age-limit, provision may be made for exceptions, as said.

(*c*) We want another qualification in our Panchayat member. He should have done outstandingly good work in *some* walk of life—whether literary, scientific, educational, priestly, medical, artistic, etc., or administrative, official, military, etc., or commercial, agricultural, industrial, financial, etc., or as a labourer and manual worker; and he should have done this and at the same time acquired a reputation for uprightness and honest dealing and sympathy for fellow-creatures. An aged agriculturist who has tilled his few acres successfully, has raised up a good family, is respected and trusted in his own and neighbouring villages, and can express his views clearly is a wise village-elder, in short, may be a more useful member of a legislature which has to deal with vast agricultural interests like those of India, even though he may be only just able to sign his name, than many brilliant speakers or writers with only a college education that has little touch of reality.

(*d*) Another desirable condition is that the legislator should not receive any cash remuneration for his work from the public funds. Such cash payment, while perfectly right and even necessary in other fields of work, taints the peculiar fiduciary status of the *legislator*, who should stand in the position of Trustee and Elder to the people. He should therefore meet all his *personal* expenses himself. But, of course, all his *ex-officio* expenses must be met out of public funds. This would invest the legislator with the venerable dignity which naturally belongs to such an Elder. Trust, honour, reverence—these are the proper, the only, and the natural price of patriarchal benevolence and caring; and they usually *are* paid, where the generous instincts and traditions of the community have not been perverted. Also, the giving and receiving of such honour—a reward greater than power and wealth and amusements, for it can be enjoyed not only in life, but also after the death of the physical body, which the others cannot be—is a great nourishment to the heart of both giver and receiver, and is a continuous inducement to benevolent work on the part of the latter (*when it is not mixed up with and corrupted by power and*

wealth, and a powerful check against temptations to corruption. The natural corollary of this is that in all public functions, the unsalaried legislator should have rank and precedence above all salaried office-bearers as well as persons engaged in competitive money-earning professions.

It will be readily seen that the idea underlying this condition is that which has been discussed and emphasised before, the idea of spiritualising politics by changing the whole culture and civilization of society from its present *mercenary* to a *missionary* basis, even as the work of the elders in a family is done for the youngers, not for mercenary motives, but out of 'missionary' benevolence. The right instinct is already there; it has only to be revived. Many western countries do not, or until recently did not give any salary to their legislators. Aldermen are not paid. Nor are justices of the peace. The theory about the *honorarium* of the barrister is the same. But the prevailing mammonism of western civilization has corrupted the whole moral atmosphere of human life and penetrated into and vitiated even the most sacred domestic and fiduciary relations. If this atmosphere cannot be purified by the introduction of the missionary and patriarchal spirit in the Panchayats, the Legislators and the Courts of Arbitration, then there is no hope of true Swaraj.

(*e*) It goes without saying that, grade after grade, each Panchayat should have, in its personnel, members possessing between them, all the knowledge and experience needed for dealing with all the different kinds of work which the Panchayat as a whole has to attend to. For making rules for, and dealing with, each main department of work, the Panchayat will have to form a sub-committee out of its own members; and it is obvious that these should have special knowledge of that kind of work.

(*f*) Another important point is this. There should be no 'standing,' offering of or canvassing for, himself, by any one as a candidate for election. The idea of self-display and *seeking* election is wholly incongruous with the spirit of philanthropic public service. Favours are sought, not burdens. The conception here should be, not that the electors confer a favour or honour on the elected, but that they place a heavy burden of public work on him; and it is therefore they who are to be placed under obligation, and should request the electee, instead of being requested by him. *Seeking* election for oneself has an inevitable savour of selfishness of some sort or other about it, which is quite inconsistent

with our ideal of the legislator. Of course there will always be possibilities of abuse. But the point to be considered is whether they will be *less* or *greater* than under the current systems, under which the gross abuses of "electioneering," are as much a by-word as commercial and financial "profiteering" and bureaucratic "domineering." And it has also to be remembered that the mere *public acceptance and declaration of the principles* and ideas here suggested will change for the better, the whole tone and atmosphere of politics; the simple mention in the written Constitution, of the ethical, intellectual, and other qualifications which should be possessed by the legislator, will keep a fine ideal perpetually before the mind's eye of the electoral public, and will give to it that most needed political education the essence of which consists in teaching how to choose the right types of legislators and supervisors of the executive, and how to persuade them to bear the burden, out of patriotic love of the public.

It may be objected that we may make a rule that there must be no canvassing, etc., but—will not persons surreptitiously get others to nominate and canvass for them? The reply is that obviously we do not profess to be able to abolish all evil. Whoever or Whatever made the Universe has not succeeded in doing so. Human beings can obviously not do better. Indeed, some people think and believe that if evil *were* abolished, *good* would disappear automatically also. But what human beings ought to and can do is to try to minimise the evil and maximise the good, in a given time, place, and circumstance. We profess only to make suggestions towards this. No doubt, there will be room for underhand doings. But the *other* conditions which we propose must not be overlooked. They will blunt the edge of the temptations to such doings. Thus, members of the salaried permanent public service would not be allowed to become legislators (they are not in England) and elected legislators would not directly exercise executive powers, though they might act as supervisors of Departments. And the educated and reformed public opinion will make a different atmosphere altogether. The general recognition of the non-mercenary principle; and of the principle of the division of the rewards of extra honor, and special official powers, and extra wealth, and more amusements, etc., in correspondence with the division of labour and functions and the difference of the main kinds of temperaments and capacities; the

condition that legislators should not be engaged in any money-making business, which will naturally keep the public eye alertly and wakefully upon his purity—all this will make the election something to be accepted only from a sense of duty, as a burden for which the only (but great) recompense is honor, rather than to be eagerly sought for as a means of easy selfish joys, "high life," and taste of power.

CHAPTER VI.—SEPARATION OF FUNCTIONS.

1. Throughout the whole administration, Legislative, Judicial and Executive functions should be kept separate from one another.

NOTE TO CHAPTER. VI.

That Judicial functions should be separated off from other Executive functions is admitted even by the Bureaucracy in profession; though they are avoiding, might and main, the carrying out of their profession into practice. But it is not equally generally recognised that the Legislative function should also be separated off from the other two. Even more radically dangerous than the combination of judicial and executive is the combination of Legislative and Executive. If the Executive-Judge will always *decide* in favour of himself, or of his class or clique, the Executive-Legislator will *make laws* in favour of himself or of his class or clique—a far more radical danger, mischief at the very root.

In the ancient Indian scheme, the man of thought was the Legislator and the man of action was the Executor of his law. Such a pioneer of reform in India as Raja Ram Mohan Ray has expressed an opinion that the downfall of India began when the Rajas usurped the power of making laws from the Pandits. The ancient *Smritis* are all composed by Rishis, not by Rajas (except the primal Smriti of Manu—but his case was exceptional, as all beginnings are; he was patriarchal "first ancestor," the father of the first Rishis, as well as "first king" and "first law-giver"!) The Islamic tradition is similar, too. Therefore no legislator should have direct executive power; but the Legislature should supervise and control the Executive

which should be responsible in every way to the Legislature. This is the very essence of responsible government and self-government as conceived here. Where the chief Executive and the chief Legislative are practically identical, and the members of the former are substantially or heavily salaried, true responsibility ceases, manœuvres and intrigues of party politics become rampant, and legislation cannot be disinterested. In other places the opposite error is observable, *viz.*, that if the Legislative is separated from the Executive, the latter is free of control by the former. [1]

CHAPTER VII.—FINANCE.

1. The revenues needed to meet necessary expenditure should be raised by the Local Panchayats by means of taxation, with advice from the upper Panchayats.

2. State factories might be opened as necessary, with a view to prevent waste by individual competition, over-production, bad production, etc., to cheapen commodities, and to reduce taxation, but not so as to create monopolies and stifle private enterprise.

3. Where practicable, Local and District Councils should make such improvements in the locality as might result in addition to the communal income, *e.g.*, public wells, tanks, canals, roads, groves of timber and fruit trees, etc., and thereby lead to reduction of taxation.

4. Contributions would be made by the Local Panchayats to make up the revenues of the District Panchayats; by them to the Provincial; and by the Provincial to the India Panchayat.

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[1] [The ancient political theory of India seems to have been that, just as the head of a joint family (1) *thinks out* the ways to *promote* the family's welfare (*yoga*, अप्राप्तस्य प्रापणं: the securing of new gains) and to *prevent* its ill-fare (*Kshema*, प्राप्तस्य रक्षणं, the protecting and preserving from loss what has been gained) and (2) has those ways *followed* by the other members; even so, a state, *i.e.*, its sovereign power. the legislature, (1) thinks out *laws*, and (2) has them *executed* by the salaried Public Service, the executive, including all departments, the Judicial being only one of them.]

5. Special taxation might be imposed by the Provincial and India Panchayats.

NOTE TO CHAPTER VII.

These provisions will reverse the present order of things, secure financial autonomy, and provide a safeguard against the disastrous extravagance and top-heaviness which are the consequences of excessive centralisation, have plunged western nations in hopeless indebtedness and bankruptcy, for the benefit of a handful of capitalists, and are ruining India also.

CHAPTER VIII.—PROPRIETORSHIP.

1. Private property would be recognised and maintained and the growth of individual wealth, both movable and immovable, would be permitted, but so as not to encroach on or make impossible or impracticable the growth of public possessions as well; and the owner of individual wealth, who spends it on pious works, *i.e.*, works of public utility, as requested by a Panchayat, would receive special marks of honor.

NOTE TO CHAPTER VIII.

The opposite tendencies are patent in politics and economics as throughout human and other nature, in all the aspects and manifestations thereof. The current names for them are Individualism and Socialism (*aham-vāda* and *vayam-vāda, vyakti-vāda* and *samāj-vāda, infirād* and *ijmaa*). Other names for them are egoism and altruism, the separative 'I' and the communal, 'We,' mutual struggle or struggle for existence and mutual aid or alliance for existence, competition and co-operation. To endeavour to suppress either, and retain the other only, is a fatal error, due to ignorance of the very elements of human nature, or to blinding arrogance and greed for power and wealth. Bureaucracy and all other 'cracies,' as also the many current schemes of collectivism—one of which is being

tried in Russia under the name of Bolshevism—are always committing this disastrous error of one-sided and lop-sided excess and exaggeration, and therefore are always committing suicide while causing grievous disturbance and injury to the People. Russian Bolshevism, after a vain endeavour to abolish private property, in the course of which widespread misery of the most awful character is reported to have been caused, seems now to have decided to recognise private property, as was inevitable. Safety lies in recognising both these indefeasible and unabolishable aspects of human nature, and in trying to reconcile them wisely. The growth of the sense of separate *Individuality*, the growth of egoistic intelligence, of the institution of monogamous marriage and the sentiments connected with it, of the definition of the family life, of the sense of private property, of the customs of inheritance, of the incentive to productive efforts of an ever more complicated order—all these are interconnected, inter-dependent, flourish or decay together. At the same time, by that paradox of antimonial dualitay or ambivalence which is the very nature of the universe, their flourishing is possible only in the setting of a Society. Society and Individual, "We" and "I," are interdependent yet opposed. The reconciliation must be found in a National Organisation of Society, such as will give due play to the instincts or forces of individualistic competition, (*droh-atmaka vibhutiprati-spardha*) as well as socialist co-operation (*sambhuya-samutthana, sangh-atmaka sambhuti*). Refinement of life is not possible without accumulation of wealth ; and that is not possible without some play of Individualism (*vyashti-buddhi, bheda-buddhi, swartha, khud-gharazi, khudi*) the sense of private, exclusive, separate possession. But the excess of individualism leads to class wars and disruption of communities, and (when the spirit of Individualis mputs on the mask and the larger form of Nationalism) to world-ruining wars like the recent European War ; and so it defeats its own ends and commits suicide. To guard against this excess, to set due limits to private accumulations, to ensure even the refinement against degenerating into vulgar loudness, to bring about an equitable distribution of necessaries and comforts—this is the work of the spirit of Socialism (*Samasti-buddhi, abheda-buddhi, parartha, isar, aql-i-ijmaai*). The reconciliation is to be found in making the private life simpler and the public possessions richer, by putting 'private' individuals in charge

of ' public ' properties of common use and enjoyment (like public parks, museums, zoos, children's and youths' playgrounds, reading-rooms, libraries, monuments, roads, tanks, wells, places of worship, rest-houses, dharmashalas, sarais, alms-houses, bathing ghats, hospitals, etc., and inducing them by the incentive of public honor (and public censure in the opposite case) to lay out their individually-accumulated wealth on these. In this connection the principle of the separation of the four main prizes of life should be very carefully borne in mind. The preservation of the integrity of the central authority (in other words, of the purity of the Legislature), and the inducing of all the individuals composing the community to put forth the best work that there is in them—these are the main problems of government and social organisation. Modern governments and modern collectivist schemes and experiments are all failing to find a solution for them. As said before, the Soviet Government in Russia, after extraordinary efforts to abolish private property, is reported to have realised that capitalism has to be restored (though, no doubt, with limitations). It is reported to have found out that the peasants avoid working more than will produce enough for their necessary wants, and are not interested in supporting the 'intellectuals,' etc., who are necessary for the 'State,' unless special inducement is applied. Now the simple old traditional solution, in India, of these problems is the separation of the four main prizes of life, *viz.*, honor, power, wealth, and amusement, which constitute the main ambitional inducements to strenuous work of correspondingly different kinds.[1] The possibility of combining them, of securing them all, is the one prime cause of all kinds of social and political corruption and class-hatred. Separate them, and you at once minimise the temptations of the central authority, and at the same time provide an adequate (if not excessive) inducement to every worker to put forth his best. Socio-political reform of the affairs of human beings, if it is to be successfully carried out, must not ignore these facts and laws of the Science of Psychology, *i.e.*, of Human Nature.

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[1] [I have heard, third hand, that recent Indian travellers have found that the Soviet Government—which has been, undoubtedly, devoting great attention to the work of education of the people—unable to give sufficiently "attractive" salaries to the large numbers of teachers it requires, has been trying to supplement the small salaries with special marks of honor. If this be true, then it is a measure which is entirely in accord with the Indian tradition of giving special honor to the man of learning and teacher, instead of much money.]

By taking due account of these laws and facts, it is possible to minimise the disadvantages and pick out the advantages of all the many forms of socio-political organisation, which man has tried—the village community, the city-guilds system, the city-state, the country-state, theocracy and sacerdotalism, autocracy and monarchy and despotism, aristocracy and feudalism and militarism, plutocracy and capitalism, bureaucracy and oligarchy of many kinds, and finally democracy and collectivism of many shapes and forms—each one only a lop-sided exaggeration of one constituent and necessary element in the total corporate life of humanity—and synthesise them all anew in a truly beneficent form of Swa-raj, government of the community by its higher Swa or Self.
